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THE

ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES:

PRONOUNCED

TO EXCITE THE ATHENIANS

AGAINST

PHILIP, KING OF MACEDON.

TRANSLATED BY

THOMAS LELAND, D. D.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

A NEW EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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It is but a vague and dreamy translation at its best:
not so bad! interest and intensity good!

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THE

ORATION

ON THE

REGULATION OF THE STATE:

PRONOUNCED IN THE

ARCHONSHIP OF THEOPHRASTUS,

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE 110th OLYMPIAD.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE contests between the Macedonians and Athenians (to which we owe the most valuable remains of Demosthenes) have been explained in the former volume of the Philippic orations. The reader is not now to be informed, at what time, and with what success, King Philip attempted to reduce Perinthus and Byzantium. When he found himself obliged to raise the siege of Byzantium, he is said to have turned his arms against Scythia. The Athenians, who were elated by the least appearance of good fortune, considered this as a flight. They were fired with the imagination of an enemy, that had so long proved formidable and successful, defeated in his designs; and this, principally, by the counsels and arms of Athens, retiring before their general, Phocion, and forced from all attempts on Greece, to retrieve the honour of his arms, in parts remote and barbarous. This they considered as the happy moment for pursuing their advantages, and for reducing that ambition to just and equitable bounds, which was now, for the first time, severely mortified and disappointed.

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In order to render the hostilities now meditated more formidable and effectual, the Athenians began seriously to reflect on the causes of past misfortunes, and seemed resolved to reform those corruptions and abuses, which had disgraced their constitution, and weakened their power.

The oppressions and severe exactions, of which their allies and dependent states had lately found particular occasion to complain, and to which the necessity of their affairs had contributed, as well as the avarice of their commanders, naturally determined them to reflect on the necessity of making some effectual provision for the payment of their armies: and this as naturally determined the honest and faithful counsellors to resume the consideration of that old, scandalous abuse, the *Theatrical distributions*. Of these the reader hath been sufficiently informed in the *Notes* and *Introductions* of the Olynthiac orations.

An assembly was therefore convened, to consider of the most eligible methods to provide for the public exigencies, in the least burdensome, and most effectual manner; and particularly to consider of the expediency of restoring their theatrical funds to the service of the army; a

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point which their misguided decrees had rendered so dangerous to be proposed. On this occasion was the following oration delivered; in which the orator resumes his favourite subject, with his usual spirit, yet with sufficient caution: points out the corruptions of his countrymen, with their causes and consequences: and describes both the ancient and present state of Athens; Athens uncorrupted, illustrious, and fortunate; and the same state degenerated and disgraced, with all the honest severity and indignation of a patriot.

In this oration no mention is made of Philip or his designs, of the late transactions in Greece, of the late advantages or disgraces of the Athenian arms. The orator confines himself entirely, and directs the attention of the hearers, to the points immediately under consideration. And, we find, that these afforded him sufficient room for the exertion of his abilities.

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THE ORATION

ON THE

REGULATION OF THE STATE.

Theophrastus, Archon—Olympiad 110. An. 1.

MEN OF ATHENS!

*As to this money, and the affairs, at this time, proposed to the assembly, it appears to me, that a

* The fatal consequences of lavishing the public revenues, on spectacles and entertainments, had been long and severely experienced. Yet still numbers were found in the assembly, who, from private motives, either of interest, or to recommend themselves to the lower part of the citizens, pleaded in favour of this abuse, and found plausible arguments to urge in its favour. These, and their opposers, seem to have already debated the present point, with considerable heat and violence; and to have been supported by their respective partisans, not with that decorum or temper which, perhaps, are sometimes found in less numerous assemblies. Hence, the appearance of moderation in this exordium: which, in the present disposition of the people, was probably necessary, in order to obtain the orator an audience. And it may, in general, be observed, that although the eloquence of Demosthenes be commonly, and very justly, compared to the irresistible lightning, storm, or torrent, yet, such similitudes are not to be understood too strictly: for, on all necessary occasions, he appears a consummate master of the gentle arts of INSINUATION. He thunders and lightens indeed; yet, sometimes, (if

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speaker may, without danger, espouse either side. By condemning those who thus distribute and exhaust the public treasure, he may gain their esteem, who regard this custom as injurious to the public; or, by assenting, and encouraging these distributions, he may recommend himself to their favour, whose necessities prompt them to demand these public aids. By neither party is the interest of the state considered. Their approbation, or their condemnation of this custom, is influenced entirely by their several circumstances, of indigence, or affluence. I, on my part, shall neither oppose nor recommend it. But this I would entreat you seriously and maturely to consider, that the money, now the subject of debate, is of little moment; but the custom which it hath produced, of great consequence. If,[a] then, these distributions be esta-

the allusion be warrantable) *half his strength he puts not forth.* Nor, in effect, does he ever give a free and full course to his energy, until he has prepared his hearers to receive the impression.

[a] I have here endeavoured to express what I take to be the intent and meaning of the orator, from comparing the passage with others of the like import, in the Olynthiac orations. To propose to the assembly that the theatrical money (as it was called) should be applied to other purposes, was, by the law of Eubulus, declared a capital offence. Demosthenes therefore advises, not that this money should be alienated to the payment of their armies; but, that all citizens should receive their distributions as usual; yet, at the same time, discharge all their respective offices, whether civil or military, without farther salary or pay: and, that such only as had thus discharged, or were ready to discharge, these offices, should be entitled to the public distributions. The

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blished, for those who have, first, respectively discharged their public offices; far from injuring, you will do the most essential service both to your country and to yourselves. But if a feast, or any other like pretence, be sufficient for demanding these sums; if the mention of any farther conditions be rejected with impatience, beware lest all your regulations, how specious, how promising soever, may hereafter prove erroneous.

This I now declare as my opinion (let me not be interrupted by clamour; but hear, and then determine)—That, as we are now convened about receiving these distributions, so should an assembly be appointed to consider of a general regulation of the state, and particularly of a provision for our military affairs; and every citizen should discover, not only a just attention to all useful measures, but a just alacrity to carry them into execution; that so, my countrymen, our hopes of good success may depend upon ourselves, instead of being amused with reports of this or that man's exploits. Let all the public treasures; let all the funds for which private fortunes are now so uselessly exhausted; let all those resources, which our allies afford, be equitably distributed, and effectually applied; by the soldier, to his support in time of action; by the man who hath passed the age of military duty, as a recompense for his services in the administration of

two proposals are, in effect and reality, the same, but different in form: and this difference was sufficient for eluding the severity of the law. See Note (1) on Olynthiac II.

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justice. Let the duties of the field be discharged by yourselves, duties too important to be entrusted to others; let your armies be composed of citizens: thus let them be paid and provided. So shall they go on with vigour and success: [a]so shall your general really command his forces; and so shall your occupation be no longer to conduct the trials of your officers, nor the result of all your measures prove but this an accuser[b], an impeachment, and a criminal.

WHAT then may be expected *from the measures now proposed?* First, that the attachment of our allies will be secured, not by garrisons, but by making their and our interests the same; then, that our generals, attended by their troops of foreigners, will[c]

[a] In the Philippic orations we find notice frequently taken of the misconduct of the Athenian generals, in employing their forces not conformably to their instructions, but in expeditions neither appointed nor approved by their country. This Demosthenes ever affects to ascribe principally to disobedience and want of discipline in the foreign forces, and to the necessities of the general; which obliged him to procure, by arms, that provision for his soldiers, which the state neglected to supply. See Note, p. 15, on Philip. I.

[b] *An accuser*, &c.) In the original—*Such a man, the son of such a man, hath impeached such a person.* Ὁ δεῖνα τῦ δεῖνος, τον δεῖνα εἰσήγγειλεν. Alluding to the usual form of the bill or motion preferred to the assembly, or to the judges, upon such occasions —I have here chosen to adhere to the interpretation of WOLFIUS; as sufficiently warranted by the original, as most pertinent, and certainly most spirited.

[c] When the Athenians sent to collect their tribute from the dependant islands, they frequently employed an admiral, attended

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no longer harass our confederates by their depredations, without once daring to face the enemy; (a conduct by which all emoluments have centered in these generals, but which hath loaded the state with odium and disgrace.) On the contrary, by leading out an army composed of citizens, they shall inflict that severity on our enemies, hitherto directed against our friends and allies.

But, besides these, there are other affairs which demand your personal service. A war in our own country must certainly be better supported by an army of our own citizens: and for other purposes such an army is absolutely necessary. Were it consistent with your character, to sit down inactive, without the least concern or interest in the affairs of Greece, I should then use a different language. But, now, you affect the dignity of supreme commanders and umpires in Greece: but yet the forces to defend and to preserve this superiority, you have not yet prepared, nor are solicitous to prepare. No! by

with such a navy, as proved both a burden and a terror to the islanders. When Phocion was appointed to sail with twenty ships on such an occasion, "Why such a force?" said this humane Athenian; "If I am to meet enemies, it is insufficient; if "I am sent to friends, a single vessel will serve." And even those allies who found themselves obliged to implore the assistance of the Athenians against their enemies, frequently experienced more miserable effects from the oppression and rapine of their auxiliaries, than from the arms of their assailants. So notorious and odious was the avarice of Chares, that when he led an army to the relief of Byzantium (a little before the date of this oration) the Byzantines shut their gates against him.

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your indolence and insensibility the people of Mitylene [a] have lost their liberty; by your indolence and insensibility the people of Rhodes have lost their liberty.——But these, it may be said, were our enemies.——Yet we should regard Oligarchies as much more the objects of our aversion (merely on account of their constitution) than free states can be from any cause.

But I have wandered from my purpose. My advice is this: That you should be arranged in your Classes; and that, by one and the same regulation, you should be entitled to receive, and obliged to act. Of these things I have spoken upon former occasions; and explained the manner in which our infantry, our cavalry, in which those who are exempt from military service, may be all duly regulated, and all receive their stipends fully. But, that which of all things gives me the most melancholy apprehensions, I shall here declare without disguise. Many, and noble, and important, are the objects which should command your attention. Yet no man hath the least respect to any one of them; all attend solely to the wretched pittance [b] you dis-

[a] This change of the government at Mitylene, as it could not convey any instruction to posterity, hath been passed over in silence by all the ancients except Demosthenes: so that we are ignorant of the manner in which it was effected. (And how far the Athenians were really to blame in not preventing it.)

Lucchesini.

[b] *To the wretched pittance,* &c.] Literally, *to the two oboli*: that is 2d. 2q. the sum distributed to the poorer citizens for their

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tribute. Such a pittance then, they must confess, is adequate to their desert. But a just attention to the objects I have mentioned, must have consequences more valuable than all the wealth of Persia; the exact regulation and appointment of a state like this, possessed of so great an infantry, of such a navy, of such a cavalry, of such revenues.

But, wherefore do I mention these things? For this reason: There are men shocked at the thoughts of obliging all our citizens to serve in war; but there are none, who do not readily acknowledge, that it is of the utmost moment to the state, to be duly regulated and perfectly provided. It is your part, therefore, to begin here; and to allow a full freedom of speech to those who would urge the importance of this point in its full force. If you be convinced, that this is the proper time for considering of the necessary provisions, you may command them when called to action. But, should you imagine that such considerations may more properly be deferred to some future occasion: then must ye be reduced to give up the time of execution to the necessary preparations.

support, and for the purchase of their seats in the theatre. And, small as this largess was, yet, as the number of such citizens was great, and as the distribution seems to have been made daily, the treasury must have been considerably exhausted by it. Nor are we warranted to suppose, that the people always confined their demands to this sum. Entertainments, processions, and religious ceremonies, afforded pretences for still farther demands.

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IT may have been already asked, Athenians! (not by the majority of this assembly, but by certain persons, who would burst with vexation should these measures be pursued,) "What real advantage have "we derived from the speeches of DEMOSTHENES? "He rises when he thinks proper: he deafens us "with his harangues: he declaims against the de- "generacy of present times: he tells us of the vir- "tues of our ancestors: he transports us by his "airy extravagance: he puffs up our vanity; and "then sits down."—But, could these my speeches once gain an effectual influence upon your minds, so great would be the advantage conferred upon my country, that, were I to attempt to speak them, they would appear to many as visionary. Yet, still I must assume the merit of doing some service, by accustoming you to hear salutary truths. And, if your counsellors be solicitous for any point of moment to their country, let them first cure your ears, for they are distempered; and this, from the inveterate habit of listening to falsehoods, to every thing rather than your real interests.

THUS it lately happened. Let no man interrupt me: let me have a patient hearing—that some persons broke into the treasury. The speakers all instantly exclaimed, "Our free constitution is overturned: "our laws are no more." And now, ye Men of Athens! judge, if I speak with reason. They, who are guilty of this crime, justly deserve to die; but, by such offenders, our constitution is not overturned.

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Again, some oars[a] have been stolen from our arsenal.——"Stripes and tortures for the villain! our "constitution is subverted!" This is the general cry. But what is my opinion? This criminal, like

[a] *Some oars*, &c.] We cannot well suppose, that the depredations made in their naval stores were really so slight and inconsiderable, as they are represented in these extenuating terms. A design had lately been concerted, of a very momentous and alarming nature, and an attempt made on the naval stores at Athens, which Demosthenes himself laboured, with the utmost zeal, to detect and punish. A man named Antipho had been, for some time, considered as an Athenian citizen, till, by an examination of the registers, he was found to be really a foreigner; was accordingly deprived of all the privileges of a native, and driven, with some ignominy, from the city. Enraged at this disgrace, he went off to Philip, and to him proposed to steal privately into Athens, and to set fire to the arsenal. The Macedonian, who was neither delicate in the choice of his instruments, nor in the means of distressing his enemies, listened readily to the proposal of this hireling, and, by bribes and promises, encouraged him to the attempt. Antipho repaired to Athens, and was lodged in the port, ready to put his enterprise in execution, when Demosthenes, who received timely intimation of this black design, flew to the Piræus, and seized and dragged the delinquent before an assembly of the people. Here the clamours of the Macedonian party were so violent, that the accusation was slighted, and Antipho dismissed without the formality of a trial. He departed, triumphing in his escape, to pursue his designs with greater confidence and security. But the court of Areopagus, whose peculiar province it was, to take the cognizance of all matters of treason against the state, caused him to be again seized and examined. Torture forced from him a full confession of his guilt; and sentence of death was passed, and executed upon him.—This account we have from the oration on the crown. And the detection of so dangerous a design might have quickened the vigilance of the people, and exasperated their resentment against any the least attempts made on their military stores.

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the others, hath deserved to die: but, if some are criminal, our constitution is not therefore subverted. There is no man who dares openly and boldly to declare, in what case our constitution is subverted. But I shall declare it. When you, Athenians! become an helpless rabble, without conduct, without property, without arms, without order, without unanimity; when neither general, nor any other person, hath the least respect for your decrees; when no man dares to inform you of this your condition, to urge the necessary reformation, much less to exert his efforts to effect it—*then is your constitution subverted.* And this is now the case.

But, O my fellow-citizens! a language of a different nature hath poured in upon us; false, and highly dangerous to the state. Such is that assertion, that in your tribunals is your great security; that your right of suffrage is the real bulwark of the constitution. That these tribunals are our common resource in all private contests, I acknowledge: but, it is by arms we are to subdue our enemies, by arms we are to defend our state. It is not by our decrees that we can conquer. To those, on the contrary, who fight our battles with success, to those we owe the power of decreeing, of transacting all our affairs, without controul or danger. In arms, then, let us be terrible; in our judicial transactions, humane.

If it be observed, that these sentiments are more elevated than might be expected from my character,

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the observation, I confess, is just. Whatever is said about a state of such dignity, upon affairs of such importance should appear more elevated than any character. To your worth should it correspond, not to that of the speaker. And now I shall inform you, why none of those, who stand high in your esteem, speak in the same manner. The candidates for office and employment go about soliciting your voices, the slaves of popular favour. To gain the rank of general, is each man's great concern; not to fill this station with true manlike intrepidity. Courage, if he possesses it, he deems unnecessary; for, thus he reasons: he has the honour, the renown of this city to support him; he finds himself free from oppression and controul; he needs but to amuse you with fair hopes; and thus he secures a kind of inheritance in your emoluments. And he reasons truly. But, do you yourselves once assume the conduct of your own affairs; and then, as you take an equal share of duty, so shall you acquire an equal share of glory. Now, your ministers and public speakers, without one thought of directing you faithfully to your true interest, resign themselves entirely to these generals. Formerly you divided[a] into CLASSES, in order to raise the supplies: now the business of the CLASSES is to gain the management of public affairs. The orator is the leader; the general seconds his attempts; the THREE HUNDRED are the assistants on each side; and all others take their parties, and serve to fill up the

[a] *Formerly you divided*, &c.] See Note on Olynth. I. p. 50.

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several factions. And you see the consequences: this man gains a statue; this amasses a fortune; one or two command the state; while you sit down unconcerned witnesses of their success; and, for an uninterrupted course of ease and indolence, give them up those great and glorious advantages which really belong to you.

And now, consider what was the conduct of our ancestors in these particulars: (for, if we would be taught how to act with dignity, we need not look to other countries for examples; we have had them in our own state.)—To Themistocles, who commanded in the sea-fight at Salamis[a]; to Miltiades, the general at Marathon; to many others, who surely never did such services as our present generals, they never once erected a brazen statue. These men never were such darling favourites; never were deemed superior to their fellow-citizens. No, by the gods! the Athenians of those days never would give up their share in the honour of any noble action. Nor is there a man that will say, the sea-fight of

[a] *Who commanded in the sea-fight at Salamis*, &c.] These are the very expressions of the original: and although the common metonymical phrase [*Who gained the victory at Salamis*] might appear less uncouth, and be more familiar to a modern ear, yet I should have thought it unpardonable in the translation, as it is a mode of speaking which Demosthenes studiously avoids. And, indeed, had he been betrayed into it, he must have exposed himself to all the ridicule of his acute and observant audience: for, in the very next sentence, he condemns it as highly derogatory to the honour of his country.

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Themistocles at Salamis, but of the Athenians: not the engagement at Marathon, by Miltiades, but by the state. But now we are perpetually told, that Timotheus took Corcyra; that Iphicrates cut off the detachment; that Chabrias gained the naval victory at Naxos. Thus, you seem to resign all your share in these actions, by those extravagant honours which you heap upon your generals.

Such was the noble conduct of our ancestors in rewarding citizens, and such is your mistaken conduct. But of honouring foreigners what have been the methods? To[a] Menon, the Pharsalian, who supplied us with twelve talents of silver, in our war at Eion, near Amphipolis, and reinforced us with two hundred horsemen, of his own dependants, our ancestors never voted the freedom of our city, but

[a] This war at Eion, near Amphipolis, I am bold to assert, was the same with that so particularly described by Thucydides, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth years of the Peloponnesian war, when the Lacedemonians, under the command of Brasidas, opposed the Athenians in this country; although the historian, who confined himself to the transactions of greatest importance, makes no mention of this assistance afforded to the Athenians by Menon the Pharsalian. This Menon I take to be the same with the Thessalian of that name, who, in the fourth year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad, led a body of forces to the assistance of Cyrus, against his brother Artaxerxes, according to Diodorus and Xenophon. The circumstances of his supplying the Athenians with money, and giving them a body of horse, exactly agree to two particulars in the character of that Menon whom Xenophon describes; that it was his custom to court the friendship of the powerful, that they might screen him from the punishment due to his infamous practices: and, that he constantly kept in his service a large body of forces ready to act as he directed. Lucchesini.

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only granted certain immunities[a]. And in earlier times, Perdiccas, who reigned in Macedon[b] at the

[a] *Certain immunities.*] A manner of doing honour to these then, which, at the same time, expressed a high sense of the dignity of their own city. For it supposed that these eminent personages might find it necessary to take up their residence for some considerable time at Athens, as *sojourners*. And, in order to understand the nature of these immunities, we must attend to the situation of those Μέτοικοι, or sojourners. So were these foreigners called, who settled at Athens, by permission of the Areopagus. Here they were allowed to follow their occupations, without disturbance; but had no share in the government; were not intrusted with public offices, nor voted in the assembly. They were obliged to the performance of certain duties; as in the festival celebrated in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, the men were obliged to carry the Σκαφαι, or little ships, which were the signs of their foreign extraction, while the women bore the ὑδριαι, vessels of water, and the Σκιαδεια, umbrellas, to defend the free-women from the weather. This last custom, indeed, was introduced in the insolence of the Athenian prosperity, after the defeat of the Persians. Besides this, the men paid an annual tribute of twelve drachmæ. The women, who had no sons, paid six. Such as had sons that paid, were excused. And this tribute was exacted not only of those that dwelt in Athens, but of all that settled themselves in any town of Attica. This tribute, by the interposition of Themistocles, was, for a time, remitted; but seems to have been restored in consequence of his disgrace: and, upon any failure of payment, the delinquent was liable to be seized, and sold as a slave.—Such of these sojourners as had been remarkably serviceable to the public, were honoured, by edict, with an IMMUNITY from all impositions and duties, except such as were required of the free-born citizens. Hence this honour was called Ισοτελεια, and Ατελεια (the expression of the text.) To foreigners of eminence, such immunities might have extended even to an exemption from certain duties, to which citizens themselves were obliged. For immunities of this kind were frequently granted, so as to occasion complaints and remonstrances.

[b] *Perdiccas, who reigned in Macedon,* &c.] According to He-

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time of the barbarians' invasion, who fell on the barbarians in their retreat from the slaughter of Platæa, and completed the ruin of the KING, they never voted the freedom of the city; they but granted him immunities: thoroughly persuaded that the honour of being a citizen of Athens was too exalted, too illustrious, to be purchased by any services. But now, my countrymen, it is exposed to common sale: the most abandoned of mankind, the slaves[a] of slaves are admitted to pay down the price, and at once obtain it. And such difference of conduct doth not arise from this, that you are naturally less excellent than your ancestors; but from

rodotus, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, was king of Macedon at the time of the Persian war. And therefore we may suppose, with the Italian commentator, that this Perdiccas was one of the royal family, and governed one of those districts into which Macedon was divided in the earlier times. Nor are we to wonder, that this action of the Macedonian has been passed over in silence by the historians, as it was not very considerable, when compared with the great events of the Persian war.

[a] *The slaves*, &c.] The freedom of the city was, by the constitution of Athens, conferred only by the voices of the people; nor was their act valid, unless confirmed in a subsequent assembly, by the votes of more than six thousand Athenians, by ballot, (as we learn from the oration of Demosthenes against Neæra;) but now their poverty hath made them much less delicate. And we learn from Athenæus, that they had about this time conferred the freedom of their city (this compliment, in former times, scarcely vouchsafed to kings and potentates) on two men, whose only pretence of merit was, that their father had been famous for improving the art of cookery. Such a scandalous prostitution of their honours, fully justifies all the severity of Demosthenes.

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those truly noble sentiments which they were accustomed to entertain, and which you have lost. For it is not possible that men, engaged in low and grovelling pursuits, can be possessed with great and generous thoughts. Just as those, who act with dignity and honour, cannot harbour any mean and abject thought. Whatever be their course of conduct, such must men's sentiments ever prove.

And now, let us take one general view of the actions performed by our ancestors, and by ourselves, that by such comparison we may learn to excel ourselves. Five and forty years did they govern Greece, with general consent. More than ten thousand talents did they collect into our treasury. Many and noble monuments did they erect, of victories by land and sea, which are yet the objects of our applause. And be assured, that they erected these, not to be viewed in silent wonder, but that you might be excited to emulate the virtues of those who raised them. Such was their conduct. Say then can we, though seated thus securely above all opposition, boast of any actions like these? Have we not lavished more than one thousand five hundred talents on every Grecian state that pleaded their distress; and all to no purpose? Have we not exhausted all our private fortunes, all the revenues of our state, all we could exact from our confederates? The allies which we gained by arms, have they not been given up in our treaties?—Yes; in these particulars, it is granted, that our ancestors excelled us: but there are others in which we are

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superior.—Far from it!—Shall we pursue thecomparison? The edifices they have left to us, their decorations of our city, of our temples, of our harbours, of all our public structures, are so numerous, and so magnificent, that their successors can make no addition. Look round you to their vestibules, their arsenals, their porticoes, and all those honours of our city, which they transmitted to us. Yet, were the private habitations of the men of eminence in those times, so moderate, so consonant to that equality, the characteristic of our constitution, that, if any one of you knows the house of Themistocles, of Cimon, of Aristides, of Miltiades, or of any of the then illustrious personages, he knows that it is not distinguished by the least mark of grandeur. But now, ye men of Athens, as to public works, the state is satisfied, if roads be repaired, if water be supplied, if walls be whitened, if any trifle be provided. Not that I blame those who have executed such works. No! I blame you, who can think so meanly as to be satisfied with such fruits of their administration. Then, in private life, of the men who have conducted our affairs, some have built houses, not only more magnificent than those of other citizens, but superior to our public edifices; others have purchased and improved an extent of land greater than all their dreams of riches ever presented to their fancies.

And here lies the great source of these errors. Formerly, all power and authority were in the people. Happy was it for any individual, if they

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vouchsafed him a share of honours, employments, or emoluments. But now, on the contrary, individuals are the masters of all advantages, the directors of all affairs; whilst the people stand in the mean rank of their servants and assistants; fully satisfied, if these men vouchsafe to grant them some small share of their abundance.

To such a state have we been reduced by these means, that if a man were to peruse your decrees, and then distinctly to examine your actions, he could not persuade himself, that the same people had been authors of both. Witness the decrees you made against the accursed [a]Megareans, who had possessed themselves of the consecrated ground; that you would march out, that you would oppose them, that you would not permit such sacrilege. Witness your decrees about the [b]Phliasian exiles,

[a] This instance of the impiety of the Megareans, of whom Demosthenes here affects to speak with so much detestation, probably happened about the time, and was the occasion of the embassy of Anthemocritus, of whom mention is made in Philip's letter to the Athenians. LUCCHESINI.

[b] As this affair is not mentioned in history, and but slightly hinted at by Demosthenes, it requires some pains to investigate it. The Phliasians had ever been in open or secret enmity with the Argives; while the one endeavoured to support their independency, the other, to reduce their city, which they regarded as a part of their own territory. In the 3d year of the 101st Olympiad, certain Phliasians who had been banished, formed a conspiracy with some kinsmen who still continued in the city, in order to betray it to the Argives. It was attacked vigorously by night, and the enemy, with the utmost difficulty, repelled. This at-

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that you would support them; that you would not abandon them to their assassins; that you would call on those of the Peloponnesians who were inclined to unite with you in their cause. These were all noble declarations; these were just; these were worthy of our state. Not so the execution. Thus your decrees serve but to discover your hostile dispositions; your enemies never feel their effects. The resolutions of your assemblies fully express the dignity of your country; but that force, which should attend these resolutions, you do not possess. It is, in my opinion, your only alternative; (and let it not raise your indignation;) either to entertain sentiments less elevated, and to confine your attention to your own affairs, or to arm yourselves with greater force. If this assembly were composed of the inhabitants of some obscure and contemptible islands, I should advise you to think less highly. But, as you are Athenians, I must urge you to increase your force. For it is shameful, O my countrymen, it is shameful to desert that rank of magnanimity, in which our ancestors have placed us. Could we descend to such a thought, it would be impos-

tempt exasperated each party, and produced various quarrels and hostilities. And whether these were suspended, or continued down to the date of this oration, it seems to admit of no doubt, that the Argives and Arcadians, supported by the king of Macedon, made war on the Phliasians, restored the exiles, and drove out those citizens who had opposed their interest; and that these citizens, thus oppressed and expelled, implored the assistance of the Athenians, and received those magnificent promises and decrees which the orator here mentions. LUCCHESINI.

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sible to withdraw our attention from the affairs of Greece. We have ever acted greatly and nobly; those who are our friends it would be scandalous to desert; our enemies we cannot trust; nor must we suffer them to become powerful. In a word, we see in this city, that the men who have engaged in the public administration, even when they wish to retire, cannot resign their charge. This is your case; you are the ministers in Greece.

THIS, then, is the sum of what hath now been offered. Your speakers never can make you either bad or good; you can make them whatever you please. You are not directed by their opinions, for they have no opinion, but what your inclinations dictate. It is your part, therefore, to be careful, that your inclinations be good and honourable. Then shall all be well. Your speakers either must never give pernicious counsels; or, must give them to no purpose; when such counsels have no longer any influence in this assembly[a].

[a] These representations of Demosthenes were so far successful, that, early in the following year, the assembly repealed that scandalous law of Eubulus, which denounced death against any person who should propose the alienation of the theatrical appointments; and the orator himself had the honour of introducing a decree for applying them to the military service; to which the people consented, when it was too late to derive any considerable advantages from this reformation.

END OF THE ORATION ON THE REGULATION OF THE STATE.

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THE FIRST OF

THE SUSPECTED ORATIONS:

VIZ. ON THE

HALONESUS:

PRONOUNCED IN THE

ARCHONSHIP OF SOSIGENES,

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE 109th OLYMPIAD.

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INTRODUCTION.

It was not originally my intention to have translated either of the following orations: nor is it from any alteration in my opinion, but from a deference to that of others, that I have presented this, on the Halonesus, to the English reader, in order to give him an opportunity of comparing it with the others, and of judging for himself, whether it is to be admitted among the genuine remains of our orator, or to be rejected as unworthy of his abilities, although apparently received and quoted by the ancient critics.

This oration takes its title from an island called Halonesus, which one Sostratus, a pirate, had some time since taken from the Athenians, and which Philip, having driven out this pirate, now claimed as his property. This was regarded at Athens as an infraction of the treaty lately concluded, (of which some account hath been given in the Introduction to the *Oration on the Peace:*) and, together with some other transactions of the Macedonian prince, produced complaints and jealousies amongst the Athenians, which were deemed, by their rival, of too much

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consequence to be neglected. Python, one of his most able partisans, was dispatched to Athens, to obviate all objections to the sincerity and integrity of his conduct.

In order to corroborate the representations of this ambassador, Philip found it expedient to write a letter to the Athenians; which, although addressed immediately to this people, was intended as a kind of MANIFESTO to all Greece. This letter, among other pieces of the same kind, which might have done honour to the abilities of the Macedonian, is unhappily lost to posterity; but the general contents of it are distinctly pointed out in the following oration, which contains a regular and methodical answer to this letter.

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THE ORATION

ON THE

HALONESUS.

Sosigenes, Archon—Olympiad 109. An. 3.

MEN of Athens! [a] it is by no means reasonable, that the complaints, which Philip urges against those speakers who assert your rights, should deprive us of the liberty of enforcing the true interests

[a] The oration, as hath been already observed, plainly points out to us the several allegations, and apologies for Philip's conduct, contained in the letter which occasioned the present debate. And this exordium as plainly shews, that, to these allegations, the writer added some strong remonstrances, against the severity and indecency with which some speakers in the assembly had, on many occasions, treated the character of the king of Macedon; and demanded that some restraint should be laid on their insolence. The author of the oration, artfully enough, considers this as an attempt to controul that freedom of speech and debate, which was the sacred right of every, even the meanest citizen. It was the PRIVILEGE, as we may call it, of the assembly; and therefore is with propriety asserted, previous to the consideration of any other particular.

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of our country. Grievous, indeed, would be the case, if the freedom of our public debates were to be at once destroyed by a letter sent from him. It is my present purpose, first, to examine the several allegations mentioned in this letter: then shall we proceed to the other particulars urged by his ambassadors.

PHILIP begins with speaking of the Halonesus; this island, he declares, is his; that he presents it to us as a free gift; that we have no rightful claim to it; nor hath he injured our property, either in acquiring or keeping possession of it. Such were his professions at the time when we were sent on our embassy to Macedon; that he had won this island from the pirates, who had seized it, and was, therefore, justified in keeping his acquisition. But, as this plea hath no support from truth and justice, it is not difficult to deprive him of it. The places, seized by pirates, are ever the property of some others; these they fortify, and from thence make their excursions. But the man who punishes their outrages, and drives them out, cannot reasonably allege, that the possessions, which these pirates unjustly wrested from the rightful proprietors, must instantly devolve to him. If this be suffered, then, if some pirates should seize a part of Attica, or of Lemnos, or of Imbros, or of Scyros, and if any power should cut them off, the places which they had seized, though our undoubted property, must continue in his possession, whose arms chastised

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these pirates. Philip is himself sensible of the weakness of this plea. There are others equally sensible of this; but it is imagined easy to impose on you by means of those who are administering our affairs agreeably to the wishes of the Macedonian; who promised him, and are now performing this service. Yet he cannot but know, that we must come into possession of this island, in whatever terms our transaction may be expressed, whether you accept it or resume it[a]. Why then should he

[a] *Accept it or resume it.* Ἂν τε λάβῃλε, ἂν τ' ἀπολαβῃλε. This was a distinction suggested and asserted by Demosthenes, as we learn from a passage in the oration of Æschines against Ctesiphon, where it is ridiculed as frivolous and litigious. But (as Mons. Tourreil observes on that passage) the Athenians had most important reasons to examine, which of these two terms they used in their convention with Philip. For, according to the choice of one or the other term, their right to the Halonesus was established or destroyed. The king of Macedon consented to put them in possession of the island; he declared that he would *give* it to them. If then the Athenians were to answer that they *accepted* of it, (as a gift or favour,) by this they must acknowledge, that Philip was the rightful proprietor of the island. It was therefore insisted that this prince should declare that he *restored* it; while the Athenians, on their part, declared that they *resumed* it; which plainly implied that the Macedonians had usurped their right, and that they were truly and justly entitled to the Halonesus. Yet however reasonable and necessary such precision may appear, and particularly in transactions with a prince of so much address and artifice as Philip, yet the ridicule of Æschines had some effect. And, *a man who disputes about the words giving or restoring*, became a proverbial phrase to express a person of an obstinate adherence to nice and frivolous distinctions. The comic poets did not a little contribute to introduce this proverb into fashion. Athenæus quotes a number of fragments, in

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not use the fair and equitable term, and restore it; rather than adhere to that word which proves his injustice, and pretend to present it as a gift? Not that he may be supposed to confer a benefit upon us, (such benefits are ridiculous,) but that he may demonstrate to all Greece, that the Athenians think themselves happy in owing their maritime dominions to the favour of the Macedonian. O my countrymen! let us not descend to this.

As to his proposal of submitting this contest to umpires, it is the language of derision and mockery. It supposes, in the first place, that we, who are Athenians, could, in our disputes, with one sprung from Pella, descend to have our title to the islands determined by arbitration. And, if our own power, that power to which Greece owes its liberty, cannot secure us the possession of these places; if umpires are to be appointed, if we are to commit our cause to them; if their votes are absolutely to decide their rights, and if they are to secure to us these islands, (provided[a] that they be influenced by Philip's gold;)

which we find that Alexis, Anaxilas, and Timocles, employed it to heighten the humour and pleasantry of their performances: and Athenæus himself makes use of it, in the beginning of the sixth book.

[a] *Provided*, &c. Æschines asserts, in the oration against Ctesiphon, that, in the present debate, Demosthenes declared that no impartial arbitrators could be found in Greece, so general had been the influence of corruption. If Demosthenes was really the author of this oration, we must suppose that the assertion of his rival was founded on the insinuation contained in the passage here quoted.

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if such, I say, be your conduct, do ye not declare, that ye have resigned all your power on the continent? do ye not discover to the world, that no attempt can possibly provoke you to oppose him; when for your maritime dominions, whence Athens derives its greatest power, you have not recourse to arms, but submit to umpires?

He farther observes, that his commissioners have been sent hither to settle a cartel of commerce[a]; and, that this shall be confirmed, not when it hath received the sanction of your tribunal, as the law directs, but when it hath been returned to him. Thus would he assume a power over your judicature. His intention is to betray you into unguarded concessions, to have it expressly acknowledged in this cartel, that you do not accuse him of injuring the state by his outrageous conduct, with respect to Potidæa; that you confirm his right both of seizing and possessing this city. And yet, those Athenians who had settled in Potidæa, at a time when they were not at war with Philip, when they were united with him in alliance; when the most solemn engagements subsisted between them, when they had

[a] *A cartel of commerce.* The word thus rendered [Συμβολα], is explained by lexicographers, as denoting (among many other particulars) certain conventions, [Συνθηκας] settled between two states, as a rule for the decision of all differences which might arise in their commercial intercourse with each other. The particular nature, force, effects, and consequences, of such conventions, the translator cannot take on him to explain distinctly; nor of consequence, the force and propriety of the speaker's argument in this passage.

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the utmost reliance on Philip's oaths, were yet despoiled by this prince of all their possessions. And now, he would have you ratify this his iniquitous procedure, and declare that you have suffered no injury, that you have no complaints to urge against him. For, that the Macedonians have no need of any cartels in their commerce with the Athenians, former times afford sufficient proof. Neither Amyntas, the father of Philip, nor any of the other kings of Macedon, ever made these cartels with our state, although our intercourse was much greater in those days than now: for Macedon was then subject to us, it[a] paid us tribute; and then, much more than now, did we frequent their markets, and they enjoy the advantages of ours; nor were the tribunals, to which affairs of commerce might be brought, settled in so regular a manner as at present. As these are opened once in each month, they make all cartels between two countries, so far removed from each other, quite unnecessary. And, as these were not agreeable to ancient usage, it is by no means

[a] I do not remember to have met with any particular account of Macedon being at any time tributary to Athens, but in Demosthenes. Eurydice, the mother of Philip, was indeed obliged to implore the protection of Iphicrates the Athenian. WOLFIUS.

Tourreil, in his notes on the second Olynthiac oration, dates the period of the Macedonians being in this tributary state from the establishment of the Athenian colony at Amphipolis, under Agnon, the son of Nicias, (about 48 years before the Peloponnesian war,) to the fifth or sixth year of this war, when Brasidas the Lacedemonian drove the Athenians from the frontiers of Macedon. But this is no more than the conjecture of the critic, founded on the authority of the present passage.

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prudent to establish them now; and thus to subject men to the inconvenience of a voyage from Macedon to Athens, or from us to Macedon, in order to obtain justice. The laws of each country are open; and they are sufficient for the decision of all controversies. Be assured, therefore, that, by this cartel, he means but to betray you into a resignation of all your pretensions to Potidæa.

As to the pirates, he observes, that justice requires that we should act in concert with him, in order to guard against those who infest the seas. By this, he in effect desires, that we should resign to him the sovereignty of the seas, and acknowledge, that, without Philip's aid, we are not able to secure a navigation free and unmolested. Nor is this his only scheme. He would have an uncontrouled liberty of sailing round, and visiting the several islands, under the pretence of defending them from pirates: that so he may corrupt the inhabitants, and seduce them from their allegiance to us. Not contented with[a] transporting his exiles to Thasus, under the conduct of our commanders, he would gain possession of the other islands, by sending out his fleets, to sail in company with our admirals, as if united with us in the defence of the seas. There are some who say, that he hath no occasion for a maritime power: yet he, who hath no occasion to

[a] This must have happened immediately after their treaty with Macedon, before they found any reason to complain of the insidious conduct of Philip with respect to this treaty.

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secure such a power, prepares his ships for war, erects his arsenals, concerts his naval expeditions, and, by the vast expense bestowed upon his marine, plainly shews that it is the grand object of his attention. And can you think, ye men of Athens! that Philip could desire you to yield to him this sovereignty of the seas, unless he held you in contempt? Unless he had firm reliance on the men whose services he determined to purchase? the men who, insensible to shame, live for Philip, not for their country; who vainly fancy they have enriched their families by the bribes received from him: when these bribes are really the prices for which they have sold their families.

And now, with respect to the explanation of the articles of the peace, which the ambassadors, commissioned by him, submitted to our determination, (as we insisted only on a point universally acknowledged to be just, that EACH PARTY SHOULD ENJOY THEIR OWN DOMINIONS,) he denies, that ever his ambassadors were commissioned to make, or ever did make, such a concession; so that his partisans must have persuaded him, that you have utterly forgotten the declarations made publicly in the assembly. But these of all things cannot possibly be forgotten. For, in the very same assembly, his ambassadors arose, and made these declarations; and, in consequence of them, the decree was instantly drawn up. As then the recital of the decree immediately succeeded the speeches of the ambassadors, it is not possible that you could have re-

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cited their declarations falsely. This then is an insinuation not against me, but against the assembly; as if you had transmitted a decree, containing an answer to points never once mentioned. But these ambassadors, whose declarations were thus falsified, at the time when we returned our answer in form, and invited them to a public entertainment, never once rose up, never once ventured to say, "Men of "Athens, we have been misrepresented, you have "made us say, what we never said:" but acquiesced, and departed.

Recollect, I entreat you, the declarations of Python, who was at the head of this embassy; the man who then received the public thanks of the assembly. They cannot, I presume, have escaped your memory. And they were exactly consonant to Philip's present letter. He accused us of calumniating Philip; he declared, that you yourselves were to be blamed; for, when his master was endeavouring to do you service, when he preferred your alliance to that of any other of the Grecian states, you defeated his kind intentions, by listening to sycophants; who wished to receive his money, and yet loaded him with invectives: that when those speeches were repeated to him, in which his reputation was so severely treated, and which you heard with such satisfaction; he naturally changed his determination, as he found that he was regarded as devoid of faith, by those whom he had resolved to oblige. He desired, that the men, who spoke in this assembly, should not declaim against the peace;

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which certainly was not to be broken; but that, if any article was amiss, it should be amended, in which we might be assured of Philip's entire concurrence. But that, if they continued their invectives, without proposing any thing by which the treaty might be confirmed, and all suspicions of his master removed; then no attention should be given to such men. You heard these declarations of Python; you assented; you said that they were just: and just they certainly were. But, by these professions, it was by no means intended to give up an article[a] of the treaty so essential to his interest: to give up what all his treasures had been expended to obtain: no: he had been taught by his instructors, of this place, that not a man would dare to propose any thing contradictory to that decree of Philocrates, by which we lost Amphipolis. I, on my part, Athenians! never have presumed to propose any thing illegal. I have, indeed, ventured to speak against the decree of Philocrates, because it was illegal. For this decree, by which Amphipolis was lost, contradicted former decrees, by which our

[a] *An article*, &c.) That is, to give up Amphipolis, which was claimed on each side by virtue of that clause, which declared, that the contracting powers should keep all their several dominions. Philip was now in possession of this city. The right of the Athenians had been at first asserted in the congress held for settling the terms of the peace: but this point was afterwards given up. Yet now we find it was revived; at least, that the speakers who opposed the Macedonian interest, endeavoured to persuade the people, that the cession lately made was illegal, and that the general clause should be explained in favour of the Athenian claim to Amphipolis.

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right to this territory was asserted. This then was, an illegal decree which Philocrates proposed. And, therefore, he, who had the due regard to our laws in all that he proposed, could not but contradict a decree so inconsistent with our laws. By conforming to the ancient legal acts of this assembly, I showed the due attention to the laws, and, at the same time, proved that Philip was deceiving you; that he had no intention of amending any article of the treaty; that his sole purpose was to destroy the credit of those speakers, who asserted the rights of their country.

It is then manifest, that, having first consented to this amendment of the treaty, he now recals his concession. He insists, that Amphipolis is his; that you have acknowledged it to be his, by the very words of your decree, which declare, that he shall enjoy his own possessions. Such was, indeed, your declaration: but, not that Amphipolis was Philip's. For a man may possess the property of others; nor can possession infer a right, since it is frequently acquired by unjust usurpation. So that his argument is no more than an idle, sophistical equivocation. He insists particularly on the decree of Philocrates: but he forgets his letter to this state, at the time when he laid siege to Amphipolis; in which, he directly acknowledged that Amphipolis belonged to you, and declared, that his intention in attacking this city, was to wrest it from the then possessors, who had no claim to it, and to vest it in the Athenians, who were the rightful sovereigns. Well

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then! The men who were in possession of this city before Philip's conquest, usurped our right: but when Philip had reduced it, did our right cease at once? Did he but recover his own dominions? When he reduced Olynthus also, when he subdued Apollonia, when he gained Pallene, did he but recover his own dominions?—When he makes use of such evasion, can you think that he is at all solicitous to preserve a decent semblance of reason and justice? No; he treats you with contempt, in presuming to dispute your title to a city, which the whole nation of Greece, which the Persian king himself, by the most authentic declarations, acknowledged to be ours.

Another amendment of the treaty which we contended for, was this; that all the Greeks, not included in the peace, should enjoy their liberty and their laws: and that, if invaded, they should be defended by all the confederating parties. For this, I say, we contended; sensible that justice and humanity required, not only that we and our allies, and Philip and his allies, should enjoy the advantages of the peace, but that those who were neither allies to Athens, nor to Macedon, should by no means lie exposed to the oppression of any powerful invader. That they also should derive security from the peace; and that we should in reality lay down our arms, and live in general friendship and tranquillity. This amendment, his letter confesses to be just: you hear that he accepts it. And yet hath he overturned the state of the Pheræans; he

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hath introduced his garrison into the citadel; certainly, that they may enjoy their own laws. His arms are directed against Ambracia. Three cities in Cassopia, Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elatia, all Elean colonies, hath he invaded with fire and sword, and reduced to the vassalage of his kinsman[a] Alexander. Glorious proofs of his concern for the liberty and independence of the Greeks!

As to those promises of great and important service, which he was perpetually lavishing on the state, he now asserts, that I have belied and abused him to the Greeks: for that he never once made such promises. So devoid of shame is he, who declared in his letter, which still remains upon record, that he would effectually silence his revilers, when an accommodation was once obtained; by the number of good offices he would confer upon us, and which should be particularly specified, whenever he was assured of such an accommodation. These, his favours, then, were all provided, and ready to be granted to us when the peace should be concluded; but, when this peace was once concluded, all his favours vanished. How great havoc hath been made in Greece, you need not be informed. His letters assure us of his gracious intentions to bestow large benefits upon us. And now,

[a] This Alexander was the brother of Olympias, Philip's wife, and had been placed on the throne of Epirus by the interest and power of the Macedonian. The three cities, here called Elean colonies, might have possibly been thus disposed of, with the consent of Elis, where the power and influence of Philip were in effect absolute.

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see the effect of his promises. He refuses to restore our dominions; he claims them as his own. And, as to granting us any new dominions, they must not be in this country. No; the Greeks might else be offended. Some other country must be sought for, some foreign land must furnish such grants.

As to those places which he seized, in time of peace, in open violation of his engagements; as he hath no pretence to urge, as he stands convicted manifestly of injustice, he says, that he is ready to submit these points to the decision, of an equal and common tribunal. But they are points which of all others, need no decision. A fair computation of time determines the cause at once. We all know in what month, and on what day, the peace was made. We all know, too, in what month, and on what day, Serrium, Ergiske, and the Sacred Mount were taken. The nature and manner of these transactions are no secret. Nor is there need of a tribunal in a point so evident as this, that the peace was made one month before these places were seized.

He asserts, that he hath returned all your prisoners that were taken. Yet there was one prisoner, a man of [a] Carystus, bound to this city by all the strict-

[a] Wolfius is inclined to think, that this was the name of the prisoner. But I have chosen to translate the passage in this manner, as there was a town in the island of Euboea, known by the name of Carystus. The name or the country of this man are, indeed, circumstances of no moment: and should there be a mistake in the translation, the learned reader can scarcely find it worth while to detect or to censure it.

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est ties, for whose liberty we sent no less than three deputations. Such was Philip's desire to oblige us, that he put this man to death; nay, refused to restore his body for interment.

It is also worthy of attention, to consider what was the language of his letters with respect to the Chersonesus, and to compare it with his present actions. All that district which lies beyond the Forum, he claims as his own, in defiance of our pretensions, and hath given the possession to Apollonides the Cardian. And yet the Chersonesus is bounded not by the Forum, but by the altar of Jupiter of the Mountain, which lies in mid-way between the elm, and the chalky shore[a], where the line was traced, for cutting through the Chersonesus. This is evident, from the inscription on the altar of Jupiter of the Mountain, which is in these terms:

HERE, JOVE'S FAIR ALTAR, RAIS'D BY PIOUS HANDS,
ADORNS, AT ONCE, AND MARKS THE NEIGHBOURING LANDS;
ON THIS SIDE, LO, YON CHALKY CLIFFS DISPLAY'D!
ON THAT, THE ELM EXTENDS ITS AWFUL SHADE;
WHILST, IN MID-WAY, EV'N HEAV'N'S GREAT MONARCH DEIGNS
TO POINT THE BOUND'RIES, AND DIVIDE THE PLAINS.

This district then, whose extent is known to

[a] A work which Philip had promised to execute at his own expense, (as is mentioned in the second Philippic,) for the convenience and expedition of commerce, which was frequently interrupted by the length of time spent in doubling Mount Athos, and sailing round the Chersonesus; or by contrary winds.

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many in this assembly, he claims as his property: part of it he himself enjoys, the rest he gives to his creatures: and thus he deprives us of our most valuable possessions. But he is not content with wresting from us all the lands which lie beyond the Forum: his letter directs us to come to a judicial decision of any controversy we may have with the Cardians who lie on this side of the Forum; with the Cardians, I say, who have presumed to settle in our lands. We have, indeed, a controversy with these men; and judge ye, whether the subject be inconsiderable. The lands, where they have settled, they claim as their just property, and deny our title. The lands that we enjoy they declare are unlawfully usurped; that they themselves are the rightful proprietors; and that their right was acknowledged by a decree proposed by your own citizen Calippus, of the Pæanean tribe. He did, indeed, propose such a decree: for which he was[a], by me, impeached of an illegal proceeding: but you suffered him to escape; and thus was your title to these lands rendered disputable and precarious.—— But, if you can submit to a judicial decision of your disputes with the Cardians, what should prevent the other inhabitants of the Chersonesus from demanding the like trial?

With such insolence doth he treat you, that he presumes to say, that, if the Cardians refuse to be

[a] The author of this oration affirms, that Calippus was impeached by him of violating the laws. But it is certain, that Hegesippus, and not Demosthenes, was the author of this impeachment. Libanius.

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determined by a judicial process, he will compel them. As if we were not able to compel even the Cardians to do us justice. An extraordinary instance this of his regard to Athens.

YET there are men among you who declare, that this letter is very reasonable; men, much more deserving of your abhorrence than Philip. His opposition to this state is actuated by the love of glory and power: but citizens of Athens, who devote themselves not to their country, but to Philip, should feel that vengeance which it must be your part to inflict with all severity, [a] unless your brains have forsaken your heads, and descended to your heels. It remains, that I propose such an answer to this so reasonable letter, and to the declarations of the ambassadors, as may be just, and advantageous to the state [b].

[a] This remarkable passage, which has been so much censured by critics, is here translated pretty exactly, without any attempt to soften the boldness and severity of the original. And it is left to the reader to compare with the expressions of greatest freedom, in those remains of Demosthenes which are confessedly genuine. Æschines has, indeed, recorded some expressions of our author, equally rude and disgusting: such was his threat, *that he would sew up Philip's mouth with a bull-rush*, &c. But it is certain, that in all his addresses to the assembly, even where he censures and inveighs, with the greatest freedom and severity, he still discovers a remarkable attention to decorum; and, sometimes, tempers his reproof with the most artful and delicate flattery.

[b] The deputies, who presented Philip's letter, seem to have been dismissed without any satisfactory answer. And, by the eagerness with which the people now listened to the leaders who opposed the Macedonian interest, it appeared plainly, that the

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influence of Philip's partisans was declining. So that Demosthenes judged it a favourable opportunity to prefer an accusation against his rival Æschines, for fraud and corruption in his late conduct of the treaty concluded with Philip; which produced the two orations on the subject of their embassy.

END OF THE ORATION ON THE HALONESUS.

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THE SECOND OF

THE SUSPECTED ORATIONS:

ENTITLED, ON THE

TREATY WITH ALEXANDER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE death of Philip, king of Macedon, was an event, at first, judged fatal to the interest of that kingdom; which gave the Athenians hopes of recovering their superiority, and encouraged them to form some confederacies against his successor, whose spirit and abilities were not yet completely discovered.

It is not here necessary to recount the actions of this prince, on his accession to the throne. It may be sufficient to observe, that a treaty had been concluded by his father with the Greeks, and was by him confirmed; in which it was provided, that the laws, privileges, and liberties, of the several states, should be secured and confirmed. But such engagements are seldom found sufficient to restrain a violent youthful ambition. The Macedonian was soon emboldened to discover his contempt of this treaty, by acting in several instances contrary to its articles. The Athenians, who still retained some remains of their ancient spirit, resented these his infractions. An assembly was convened to take the treaty into consideration, and to deter-

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mine on the proper method of procedure in consequence of Alexander's conduct. On this occasion was the following oration delivered, which contains a distinct specification of the several instances of violation now complained of.

Critics seem willing to ascribe this oration to Hegesippus, or to Hyperides. It is observed, that the style is diffuse, languid, and disgraced by some affected phrases; and, that the whole composition by no means breathes that spirit of boldness and freedom which appears in the orations of Demosthenes. But these differences may possibly be accounted for, without ascribing it to another author. Dejection and vexation, a consciousness of the fallen condition of his country, despair and terror at the view of the Macedonian power, might have naturally produced an alteration in the style and manner of the orator's address. A great epic genius, when in its decline, is said, by Longinus, to fall naturally into the fabulous. In like manner, a great popular speaker, when hopeless and desponding, checked and controuled by his fears, may find leisure to coin words, and naturally recur to affected expressions, when the torrent of his native eloquence is stopped. Nor is the oration now before us entirely destitute of force and

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spirit. It appears strong and vehement, but embarrassed. The fire of Demosthenes sometimes breaks forth through all obstacles, but is instantly allayed and suppressed, as if by fear and caution. The author, as Ulpian expresses it, speaks freely, and not freely; he encourages the citizens to war, and yet scruples to move for war in form; as if his mind was distracted between fear and confidence.

In a word, I regard the *Oration on the Treaty with Alexander*, as the real work of Demosthenes, but of Demosthenes dejected and terrified, willing to speak consistently with himself, yet not daring to speak all that he feels. It may be compared to the performance of an eminent painter, necessarily executed at a time when his hands or eyes laboured under some disorder, in which we find the traces of his genius and abilities obscured by many marks of his present infirmity.

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ON THE

TREATY

WITH

ALEXANDER.

We should by all means, Athenians! concur with those who so strenuously recommend an exact adherence to our oaths and treaties, if they really speak their sentiments; for nothing is so becoming the character of free states, as a strict attention to honesty and justice. Let not these men, therefore, who urge the necessity of this attention, embarrass our councils by harangues, which their own actions contradict. Let them submit to an examination; if their sentiments are approved, they will for the future influence the assembly; if not, let them give place to those whose opinions of our rights may seem more consonant to truth. Thus shall you determine, either to submit quietly to your wrongs, and esteem their author as your friend; or to prefer the cause of justice to all other considerations, and to make such provisions for your interest, with speed and vigour, as none can possibly condemn. The very terms of our treaty, and of those oaths by

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which the general peace was ratified, must, upon the first inspection, shew who are the transgressors: This I shall briefly prove in the most essential articles.

SUPPOSE this question asked, what event, Athenians, could most effectually excite your resentment? You would answer, an attempt to destroy your liberty. Should the family of Pisistratus now revive; and, should any man attempt to reinstate them in their former power, ye would at once take up arms, and brave all dangers rather than submit to these masters. Or, if you should submit, you would be reduced to the condition of purchased slaves; nay, to a worse condition: for, no master wantonly kills his slave; but those who are under the power of tyrants we see every day destroyed without the shadow of law, and exposed to insults, still worse than death, in the persons of their wives and children.

WELL, then, in open violation of his oaths, of the express terms of the general peace, hath Alexander reinstated the family of Philiades in Messenè. In this, hath he acted from a regard to justice? Or, from his own arbitrary principles, in open contempt of you, and of his engagements with the Greeks? —If then an attempt to introduce arbitrary power into Athens would excite your utmost indignation, would rouse you to maintain the treaty; you ought not to be indifferent, you ought not to neglect this treaty, when, in equal violation of its sacred pur-

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purport, other states are oppressed by the like power. Nor should they, who so strenuously recommend to you to adhere to your engagements, leave those uncontrouled, who have, on their part, violated them in a manner so notorious. Such violation cannot be suffered, if you have the due regard to justice. For, it is expressly declared in our treaty, that he who should act as Alexander hath now done, should be deemed an enemy to all included in the peace: that all should take up arms against him, and against his dominions. If then we have the least regard to these our declarations, we are to consider him as our enemy, who hath restored this family. But, say the favourers of these tyrants, "the sons of Philiades governed in Messenè before this treaty was concluded; and therefore were they restored by Alexander." This is a ridiculous allegation; the tyrants of Sestos, established long before our treaty, were expelled from Antissa and Eresus; and this form of government declared to be in itself unjust and oppressive. It cannot then be a matter of indifference, that Messenè be exposed to the like oppression.

Besides, it is provided, in the very first article of the treaty, that the Greeks shall enjoy their freedom and their laws. And, if their freedom and their laws were the first points secured, what assertion can be conceived more absurd, than that he, who reduces them to slavery, is not guilty of any violation of this treaty? If then, Athenians! you would adhere to your oaths and your engage-

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ments, if you have a regard to justice, (and this, as I have observed, is the advice of your speakers,) it is incumbent on you to take up arms, to collect your allies, and to declare hostilities against those who have really violated the peace. Have you, when some fair occasion offered, pursued your interest with vigour, even though not induced by the motive of supporting justice? And now, when justice, and a fair occasion, and your own interest, all conspire to rouse you, what other season do you wait for, to assert your own liberty and that of Greece?

I AM now come to another point of right, resulting from this treaty. It is expressly provided, that, if any persons should subvert the constitutions subsisting in each state, at the time of ratifying the peace, they should be DEEMED ENEMIES TO ALL INCLUDED IN THE TREATY. Consider then, Athenians! that the Achæans of Peloponnesus, at that time enjoyed democratical governments. Yet, of these, the Macedonian hath subverted the constitution of Pellæne, by expelling most of its citizens: their fortunes he distributed among his domestics, and Chæron, the wrestler, he established tyrant of this city. In this treaty were we included, which thus directs, that they who act in this manner shall be regarded as enemies. Shall we not then regard them as enemies, pursuant to the tenor of those engagements, by which we are all equally obliged? Or, can any of those hirelings of the Macedonian, those whose riches are the wages

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of their treason, be so abandoned as to forbid it? They cannot plead ignorance of these things; but, to such a pitch of insolence have they arrived, that, guarded, as it were, by the armies of the tyrant, they dare to call on us to adhere to oaths already violated; as if perjury were his prerogative: they force you to subvert your own laws, by releasing those who stood condemned at our tribunals; and, in various other instances, drive you to illegal measures. Nor is this surprising. For they, who have sold themselves to the enemies of their country, cannot have the least regard to law, the least reverence for oaths. The names of these, and but the names, serve them to impose on men who come to this assembly for amusement, not for business; and never once reflect, that their present indolence must prove the cause of some strange and terrible disorders.

Here, then, I repeat what I at first asserted, that we should agree with those who recommend an adherence to the general treaty. Unless they suppose, that, in recommending this adherence, they do not of consequence declare, that no act of injustice should be committed; or, imagine it yet a secret, that arbitrary power hath been established in the place of popular governments, and that many free constitutions have been subverted. But, such a supposition is utterly ridiculous. For these are the very terms of the treaty: THE DIRECTORS AND GUARANTEES, APPOINTED FOR THE GENERAL SECURITY, SHALL TAKE CARE

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THAT, IN THE SEVERAL STATES INCLUDED IN THIS PEACE, THERE SHALL BE NO DEATHS OR BANISHMENTS, CONTRARY TO THE LAWS ESTABLISHED IN EACH SOCIETY; NO CONFISCATIONS, NO NEW DIVISIONS OF LAND, NO ABOLITION OF DEBTS, NO GRANTING FREEDOM TO SLAVES, FOR THE PURPOSES OF INNOVATION. But, far from preventing these things, these men themselves contribute to introduce them. And, what punishment can be equal to their guilt, who are the contrivers of these evils in the several states, which were deemed of such consequence, as to demand the united care of their whole body to prevent them?

I SHALL now mention another point, in which this treaty is infringed. It is expressly provided, that NO FLYING PARTIES SHALL MAKE EXCURSIONS FROM ANY OF THE CITIES INCLUDED IN THE TREATY, AND COMMIT HOSTILITIES ON ANY OTHER OF THE CONFEDERATED CITIES; AND, THAT WHATEVER PEOPLE SHOULD THUS OFFEND, ARE TO BE EXCLUDED FROM THE ALLIANCE. But so little doth the Macedonian scruple to commit hostilities, that his hostilities are never suspended; nor are any free from them, that he can possibly infest. And much more flagrant are his later hostilities, as he hath, by his edict, established tyrants in different places; in Sicyon, his master of exercises. If, then, we should

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conform to the treaty, as these men insist, the cities guilty of these actions should be excluded from the confederacy. If the truth must be concealed, I am not to declare, that these are the Macedonian cities. But if, in defiance of the truth, those traitorous partisans of Macedon persevere in urging us to observe the general treaty, let us concur with them: (their advice is just and equitable:) and, as this treaty directs, let us exclude those from the alliance, who have been thus guilty; and consider of the measures necessary to be pursued against people so insolent and aspiring, whose schemes and actions are thus invariably criminal, and who treat their solemn engagements with contempt and ridicule. Why will they not acknowledge that these consequences are just? Would they have every article that opposes our interest confirmed? Every article that favours us erased? Are these their notions of justice? If any part of our engagements provides for the interest of our enemies, in opposition to this state, are they to contend for that? but if, by any other part, our rights and interests are secured against our enemies, are all their utmost efforts to be directed against this?

To convince you still more clearly, that none of the Greeks will accuse you of infringing this treaty, but will acknowledge it as an obligation, that you have arisen singly to detect those who really infringed it, I shall run over a few of its numerous articles. One article is thus expressed: THE UNITING PARTIES SHALL ALL HAVE THE

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FULL LIBERTY OF THE SEAS. NONE SHALL MOLEST THEM, OR SEIZE THEIR VESSELS, ON PAIN OF BEING REGARDED AS THE COMMON ENEMY. And now, my fellow-citizens, it is notoriously evident to you all, that the Macedonians have done these things. To such a pitch of lawless insolence have they proceeded, as to seize the ships of Pontus, and send them into Tenedos. Every pretence was invented to detain them; nor were they at last released, before we had decreed to equip one hundred ships, to send them instantly to sea, and had actually appointed Menestheus to command them.

WHEN such and so many are the outrages committed by others, is it not absurd, that their friends in this assembly should not endeavour to prevail on them to change their conduct, instead of advising us to adhere to engagements so totally neglected on the other side? As if it were expressly provided, that one party might transgress when they pleased; and, that the other should not resist. And, could the Macedonians have acted a more lawless and a more senseless part, than to have so far abandoned all regard to their oaths, that they had well nigh forfeited their[a] sovereignty of the seas? Nay, they

[a] The maritime force of Macedon seems to have been, even at this time, scarcely greater than that of Athens, notwithstanding all the attention of Philip to increase and improve it. For we shall immediately find the orator recommending to his countrymen to maintain a superiority at sea. But this sovereignty of the seas, which is here acknowledged to belong to the Macedo-

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have indisputably forfeited this right to us, whenever we are disposed to assert it. For, they are not to expect, that no penalty is to be incurred from violating the treaty, because they have, for some time past, discontinued their violations. No; they should rather be well pleased, that they have hitherto enjoyed the advantage of our indolence, and total aversion to maintain our rights.

CAN any thing be conceived more mortifying, than that all other people, Greeks and Barbarians, should dread our enmity: but, that these men, of sudden affluence, should make us contemptible, even to ourselves, by seducing and forcing us to their purposes? As if they had the conduct of affairs at Abdera or Maronæa[a], not at Athens. But while they are depressing their own country, and aggrandizing its enemies, they do not consider, that, by prescribing the rules of justice in a manner so totally unjust, they, in effect, acknowledge that their country is irresistible; for this is tacitly to confess, that, if we have a due attention to our in-

nians, seems to have been the consequence of the treaty made with Philip, immediately after the battle of Chæronea, in which the Athenians were obliged to give up the dominion of the islands, and Samos was declared the bound of their territories and jurisdiction.

[a] *Abdera or Maronæa.*] Two cities of small consequence in Thrace. *The understanding of an Abderite*, was a proverb to express a remarkable deficiency in point of genius and acuteness: though this despised city had produced Democritus, a philosopher of no small reputation in Greece.

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terests, we shall easily subdue our enemies. And in this they rightly judge. For, let us take care to maintain a superiority at sea; let us but take care of this, and we shall effectually secure noble accessions to our present land force: especially, if fortune should so far favour us, as to crush the men now guarded by the armies of tyrants; if some of them should perish, and others discover their insignificance.

THESE then have been the infractions of the Macedonian, with respect to maritime affairs; besides the others already mentioned. But, we have just now seen the most extravagant instance of the pride and insolence of his people, in daring to sail into the Piræus, manifestly contrary to the treaty concluded with us. Nor, is this their infraction the less criminal, because but one ship of war presumed to enter our harbour. It plainly appears, that this was an experiment, whether we might not prove so inattentive, as to suffer them hereafter to come in with more; and that, in this, as well as other instances, they renounce all regard to decrees and conventions. For, that they meant gradually to introduce, and to habituate us to such encroachments, appears from this, that he who then put in, with his ship, (which together with his convoy should have been destroyed,) demanded liberty to build small vessels in our port. For this proves that their purpose was, not to obtain the privilege of entering our harbour, but to gain the absolute com-

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mand of it. It cannot be alleged, that this demand was made, because the materials for building ships are in plenty at Athens; for they are brought hither from great distances, and procured with difficulty; and, that they are scarce at Macedon: (where they are sold at the cheapest rates to any that will purchase.) No: they were in hopes to gain the power of building and loading vessels in our port; a power expressly denied by treaty; and thus gradually to proceed to other enormities. In such contempt have they been taught to hold you, by their instructors in this city, who direct their whole conduct; and thus they are persuaded, that this state is irrecoverably lost in indolence, incapable of providing for its interest; and utterly regardless, whether the actions of a tyrant be conformable to his treaty, or no.

To this treaty I advise you to adhere: in that sense, I mean, which I before explained. And the experience of my age warrants me to assure you, that your rights will be thus asserted, without the least offence to others; and the occasions, favourable to your interests, most effectually improved. These are the terms of the treaty, we must act thus, IF WE WOULD BE INCLUDED. They, then, who act differently, are not to be included. And, therefore, let us now, if ever, refuse to pay an abject submission to the directions of others. Else, must we renounce the memory of those ancient and illustrious honours, which we of all other people

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can most justly boast.——If you command me, Athenians! I shall now move you in form, pursuant to the tenour of our engagement, to declare war against those who have violated the treaty.

END OF THE ORATION ON THE TREATY WITH ALEXANDER.

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THE

ORATION OF DINARCHUS

AGAINST

DEMOSTHENES.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE reader is here presented with a translation of a performance which we find, in some editions, annexed to the public orations of Demosthenes. It is an artful, spirited, and virulent invective against him, when, in the decline of life, he had fallen into disgrace, and the displeasure of his countrymen. The occasion of it is distinctly recounted by Plutarch; who informs us, that some time after the famous contest about the crown, in which Demosthenes gained so complete a triumph over his rival Æschines, one Harpalus, who had been in the service of Alexander, fled to Athens, with the remains of an immense fortune, which had been dissipated by his luxury; and there sought refuge from the anger of his master, whose severity towards his favourites alarmed and prompted him to this flight. The orators received his money, and laboured to gain him the protection of the state. Demosthenes, on the contrary, urged to his countrymen the danger of exposing themselves to an unnecessary and unjustifiable war, by entertaining this fugitive. Harpalus, however, found means to soften his severity, by a

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present of a magnificent vase, accompanied with twenty talents. And, when it was expected that Demosthenes would have exerted his abilities, in the assembly, against Harpalus, he pleaded indisposition, and was silent. This is the sum of Plutarch's account. But Pausanias, who seems to have conceived a more favourable opinion of the integrity of Demosthenes, observes, as a proof of his innocence, that an authentic account was sent to Athens, after the death of Harpalus, of all the sums distributed by him in this city, and of the persons to whom each was paid; and that, in this account, no mention was at all made of Demosthenes, although Philoxenus, who procured it, was his particular enemy, as well as Alexander. But, however this may be, the rumour of Harpalus's practices, and the report of the corruption of Demosthenes in particular, raised a considerable ferment at Athens. Demosthenes strenuously asserted his innocence, and proposed, that the council of Areopagus should proceed to a strict inquiry into this distribution, supposed to have been made by Harpalus; declaring his readiness to submit to their sentence, whatever it might be. Contrary to his expectations, the report of the Areopagus condemned him. In vain did he represent this report, as the effect of the malicious practices and contrivance of his enemies,

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He was brought to his trial; Stratocles managed the prosecution; in which he was assisted by Dinarchus, who, though he gave a favourable testimony to the character of Demosthenes on a subsequent occasion, (in the oration against Aristogiton,) yet now inveighed against him, with the utmost virulence, in the following oration.

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THE

ORATION OF DINARCHUS

AGAINST

DEMOSTHENES.

THIS your minister, Athenians! who hath pronounced sentence of death upon himself, should he be convicted of receiving any thing from Harpalus; this very man hath been clearly convicted of accepting bribes from those whom, in former times, he affected to oppose with so much zeal. As Stratocles hath spoken largely upon this subject, as many articles of accusation have been anticipated, as the council of Areopagus hath made a report on this inquiry, so consonant to equity and truth; a report, confirmed and enforced by Stratocles, who hath produced the decrees enacted against these crimes; it remains that we, who are now to speak, (who are engaged in a cause of more importance than ever came before this state,) should request the whole assembly, first, that we obtain your pardon, if we should repeat some things already urged, (for here our purpose is, not to abuse your patience, but to inflame your indignation;) and, secondly,

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that you may not give up the general rights and laws of the community, or exchange the general welfare, for the speeches of the accused. You see that, in this assembly, it is Demosthenes that is tried: in all other places, your own trial is depending. On you men turn their eyes, and wait with eagerness, to see how far the interest of your country will engage your care. Whether you are to take upon yourselves the corruption and iniquity of these men; or, whether you are to manifest to the world a just resentment against those who are bribed to betray the state.

THIS last is fully in your power. The assembly hath made a fair decree[a]. The citizens have discovered their desire to detect those speakers, whoever they may be, who, to the disgrace and detriment of the community, have presumed to receive gold from Harpalus. Add to this, that you yourself, Demosthenes, and many others, have moved in form, that the council, agreeably to ancient usage, should enter into an inquiry whether any persons had been thus guilty. The council hath made this inquiry; not that your instances were wanting to remind them of their duty; or, that they wished to sacrifice the truth, the trust reposed in them, to you: but from a full persuasion (as the Areopagites have expressed it) of the influence of such

[a] *A fair decree.*] That is, a decree committing the cognisance of the crimes alleged against Demosthenes, &c. to the court of Areopagus.

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practices on all our counsels and transactions; and a firm resolution never to plead the danger of being exposed to calumny, when they were to detect the man who attempted to bring disgrace and danger on his country.

And, although the dignity and propriety of this procedure have received the approbation of the people, Demosthenes has recourse to complaints, to appeals, to malicious accusations, now that he finds himself convicted of receiving twenty talents of gold. Shall then this council, on whose faith and justice we rely, even in the important case of premeditated murder; to whom we commit the vengeance due to this crime; who have an absolute power over the persons and lives of our citizens; who can punish every violation of our laws, either by exile or by death: shall this council, I say, on an inquiry into a case of bribery, at once lose all its authority? "Yes; for the Areopagus hath reported falsely of "Demosthenes." Extravagant and absurd! What! report falsely of Demosthenes and Demades, against whom even the truth seems scarcely to be declared with safety? You, who have in former times moved that this council should take cognisance of public affairs, and have applauded their reports; you, whom this whole city hath not been able to restrain within the bounds of justice; hath the council reported falsely against you? Why then did you declare to the people, that you were ready to submit to death, if condemned by the report of this council? Why have you availed yourself of their autho-

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sity, to take off so many of our citizens? Or, whither shall we have recourse; to whom shall we intrust the detection of secret villany? if you, notwithstanding all your affected regard to our popular government, are to dissolve this council; to whose protection our lives have been intrusted, to whose protection our liberty and our constitution have oftentimes been intrusted; by whose protection that person of thine hath been preserved, (for, as you pretend, it hath frequently been attempted,) to utter these calumnies against them; to whose care we have committed our secret archives, on which the very being of our state depends.

But it is just, it is just, I say, that the council should meet with these returns of calumny. For I shall freely speak my sentiments. One of these two methods should they have pursued: either instantly have entered into the first inquiry relative to the three hundred talents, sent hither by the king of Persia, as the people directed; and then this monster would have been punished, his accomplices in corruption detected, and all his traitorous practices, by which Thebes was betrayed to ruin, being clearly laid open, an ignominious death would have freed us from him; or, if you were inclined to pardon this crime in Demosthenes, and thus to propagate the race of corrupted hirelings within your city, this discovery of your sentiments should have determined them not to enter into any inquiry, on information of the money received by Demosthenes. For now, when the council of the Areopagus had

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nobly and equitably proceeded to a full detection of this man, and his accomplices; when, regardless of the power of Demosthenes and Demades, they have adhered inviolably to truth and justice; still, Demosthenes goes round the city, utters his invectives against this council, and boasts of his services, in those speeches which you shall hear him instantly use to deceive the assembly. "It was I "who gained you the alliance of Thebes!"——No! You it was who ruined the common interest of both states. "I drew out the forces of Chæro-"nea!"—No, you were the only person who there fled from your post.—"For you have I engaged in "several embassies." And what would he do, what would he demand, had these his negociations been successful; when, having ranged through the world, only to involve us in such calamities and misfortunes, he expects to be rewarded with a liberty of receiving bribes against his country, and the privilege of speaking and of acting in this assembly as he pleases? To Timotheus, who awed all Peloponnesus by his fleet; who gained the naval victory at Corcyra over the Lacedemonians; who was the son of Conon, the man who restored liberty to Greece; who gained Samos, and Methonè, and Pydna, and Potidæa, and, besides these, twenty cities more; you did not admit those important benefits, which he conferred upon us, to have any weight against the integrity of your tribunals, against those oaths by which ye were engaged in pronouncing sentence. No: you imposed on him a fine of one hundred talents, because that he had, by

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his own acknowledgment, received money from the Chians and the Rhodians. And, shall not this outcast, this [a]Scythian, (for my indignation will not be restrained,) whom not one man, but the whole body of the Areopagus, hath, on full inquiry, declared guilty of receiving bribes; declared an hireling, and fully proved to be a corrupted traitor to his country; shall he not be punished with that severity which may serve as an example to others? He, who hath not only been detected in receiving money from the King, but hath enriched himself with the spoils of the state: And, now, could not even be restrained from sharing the vile wages which Harpalus here distributed.

And can the negociations of Demosthenes at Thebes, be deemed equivalent to the smallest part of the noble actions of Timotheus? Who can refrain from laughter to find you patiently attending, while he presumptuously displays his pretended services, and dares to compare them with those of Timotheus, and of Conon? Actions worthy of our state, worthy of the glory of our ancestors, disdain all comparison with those of an abandoned wretch. Here I shall produce the decree enacted against Timotheus, and then return to my subject. Read!

[a] A term of reproach which the enemies of Demosthenes frequently made use of. His grandfather (by his mother's side) had, in the time of his exile, married a woman of Scythia.

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The Decree.

SUCH was this citizen (Demosthenes) that he might reasonably have expected pardon and favour from his fellow-citizens of those days. Not in words, but actions, did he perform important services to his country. His principles were steady, his conduct uniform, not various and changeable like yours. He never made so unreasonable a request to the people, as to be raised above the laws. He never required that those who had sworn to give sentence justly, should break through that sacred tie; but submitted to stand condemned, if such was the judgment of his tribunal. He never pleaded the necessity of times; nor thought in one manner, and harangued in another. And shall this miscreant live, who, besides his other numerous and heinous crimes, hath abandoned the state of Thebes to its destruction, when, for the preservation of that state, he had received three hundred talents from the King of Persia? For, when the Arcadians marched to the Isthmus, refused to treat with the ambassadors of Antipater, and received those of the unfortunate Thebans, who, with difficulty, gained access to them by sea, appeared before them in the form of wretched supplicants, declared that their present motions were not intended to dissolve their connections with Greece, or to oppose the interest of that nation; but to free themselves from the intolerable yoke of Macedonian tyranny, from slavery, from the horrid insults to which freemen were ex-

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posed; when the Arcadians were disposed to assist them, when they commiserated their wretched state, when they discovered, that, by the necessities of the times alone, they had been obliged to attend on Alexander, but that their inclinations were invariably attached to Thebes, and to the liberties of Greece; when Astylus, their mercenary general, demanded (as Stratocles hath informed you) ten talents for leading a reinforcement to the Thebans, when the ambassadors applied to this man, who they well knew had received the King's money, requested, besought him to grant such a sum for the preservation of the state;—then did this abandoned, this impious, this sordid wretch, (when there was so fair a prospect of saving Thebes,) refuse to part with ten talents out of all the vast treasures which he received; insensible to the affecting consideration, urged by Stratocles, that there were those who would give as great a sum to divert the Arcadians from this expedition, and to prevent them from assisting Thebes.

Has then Greece but slight, but common injuries to urge against Demosthenes, and his sordid avarice? Hath the man, so highly criminal, the least pretence to mercy? Do not his late and former offences call for the severest punishment? The world will hear the sentence you are this day to pronounce. The eyes of all men are fixed upon you, impatient to learn the fate of so notorious a delinquent. You are they, who, for crimes infinitely less heinous than his, have heavily and inexorably inflicted

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punishments on many. Menon was by you condemned to death, for having subjected a free youth of Pallæne to his servile offices. Themistius, the Amphidnæan, who had abused a Rhodian woman, that performed on the harp in the Eleusinian ceremonies, was by you condemned to death. The same sentence you pronounced upon Euthymachus, for prostituting a maiden of Olynthus. And now hath this traitor furnished all the tents of the barbarians with the children and wives of the Thebans. A city of our neighbours and our allies hath been torn from the very heart of Greece. The plougher and the sower now traverse the city of the Thebans, who united with us in the war against Philip. I say the plougher and the sower traverse their habitations; nor hath this hardened wretch discovered the least remorse at the calamities of a people, to whom he was sent as our ambassador; with whom he lived, conversed, and enjoyed all that hospitality could confer; whom he pretends to have himself gained to our alliance; whom he frequently visited in their prosperity, but basely betrayed in their distress. Our elder citizens can inform us, that, at a time when our constitution was destroyed, when Thrasybulus was collecting our exiles in Thebes, in order to possess himself of Phyle; when the Lacedemonians, now in the height of power, issued out their mandate, forbidding all states to receive the Athenians, or to conduct them through their territories; this people assisted our countrymen in their expedition; and published their decree, so often recited in this as-

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sembly, "that they would not look on with un-
"concern, should any enemy invade the Athenian
"territory." Far different was the conduct of this man, who affects such attention to the interests of our allies (as you shall soon hear him boast.) The very money, which he received to preserve this people from ruin, he refused to part with. Let these things sink deep into your minds. Think on the calamities which arise from traitors; let the wretched fate of the Olynthians and the Thebans teach you to make the just provision for your own security. Cut off the men, who are ever ready to sell the interests of their country for a bribe, and rest your hopes of safety upon yourselves, and the gods. These are the means, Athenians, the only means of reforming our city; to bring offenders of eminence to justice, and to inflict a punishment adequate to their offences. When common criminals are detected, no one knows, no one inquires their fate. But the punishment of great delinquents commands men's attention; and a rigid adherence to justice, without regard to persons, is sure to meet with due applause.—Read the decree of the Thebans—produce the testimonies—Read the letter.

The Decree. The Testimonies. The Letter.

He is a corrupted traitor, Athenians; of old a corrupted traitor! This is the man who conducted Philip's ambassadors from Thebes to this city; who was the occasion of putting an end to the former

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war; who was the accomplice of Philocrates, the author of the decree for making peace with Philip, for which you banished him: the man who hired carriages for the ambassadors that came hither with Antipater; who entertained them, and introduced the custom of paying obsequious flattery to the Macedonians. Do not, O Athenians! do not suffer this man, whose name is subscribed[a] to the misfortunes of this state, and of all the states of Greece, to escape unpunished; when Heaven hath been so far favourable to us, that one of those pests of our community is driven from the city, the life of the other forfeited to the state, let us not obstinately reject these favours; let the men, most eminently guilty, bear the load of our offences; so may we form happy presages of our future fortune. For what occasion should we reserve this man? When may we hope that he will prove of advantage to us? I call on this assembly; I call on all those who attend this trial; say, in what affairs hath he engaged either private or public, that he hath not ruined[b].

[a] *Is subscribed,* &c.] That is, who was the author of all those decrees which were purposely contrived to bring on these misfortunes. The name of the person who proposed any Ψηφισμα, or decree, to the assembly, was always affixed to it. And the expression in the original is supposed to allude to this custom.

[b] This sentence, in the original, is somewhat embarrassed; but I have endeavoured to express the general purport of it. Nicodemus, a native of Aphidna, had been found dead, with his eyes torn out. As he was known to have been a friend to Eubulus, who was in the party that opposed Demosthenes, the suspicion of this murder fell on the orator, who was said to have persuaded

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Did he not enter the house of Aristarchus, and there concert his designs; and did he not (the fact is well known) force this Aristarchus from the city, loaded with the infamous imputation of contriving the murder of Nicodemus? And such a friend did he find in Demosthenes, that he regarded him as his evil genius, as the author of all his misfortunes. But I must pass over his private conduct, for the time will not admit of a minute detail. From the moment that he first began to direct our affairs, hath any one instance of good fortune attended us? Hath not all Greece, and not this state alone, been plunged in dangers, calamities, and disgrace? Many were the fair occasions which occurred to favour his administration; and all these occasions, of such moment to our interests, did he neglect. When any friend to his country, any useful citizen, attempted to do us service, so far was this leader, who is impatient to boast of his great actions, from co-operating with such men, that he instantly infected them with the contagion of his unhappy conduct. Charidemus went over to the king of Persia, resolved to approve himself our friend, not by words, but actions; and to purchase security for us, and for the Greeks, by his own dangers. This man went round the public places, framed his speeches, and pretended to a share in these transactions. Then came the severe reverse of fortune;

Aristarchus, a youth with whom he was connected in friendship, to commit it. Aristarchus was publicly accused, and fled to avoid the consequences. DEM. ORAT. IN MID.

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all our expectations were utterly defeated. Ephialtes sailed out; he hated Demosthenes: yet, from necessity, admitted him to share in his councils.—The fortune of the state destroyed him. Euthydicus assumed the conduct of public affairs; he professed himself a friend to Demosthenes.—He perished. You know these things much better than I: shall not then the experience of the past, direct your judgments of the future? Can any services be expected from him? Yes; the service of forming contrivances in favour of our enemies, on some critical emergency. Such was the time, when the Lacedemonians had encamped, when the Eleans united with them, when they were reinforced with ten thousand mercenaries; Alexander said to be in India; all Greece inflamed with indignation at the ignominious state to which traitors had reduced every community; impatient of distress, and earnest for relief. In this conjuncture, who was the man, Demosthenes, that had the direction of our councils? In this perilous conjuncture, (not to mention other like occasions,) did you, whom we shall hear expressing the utmost indignation at the present fallen state of Greece; did you propose any decree? Did you assist us with your counsels? Did you supply us with your treasures? Not at all! You were employed in ranging through the city, providing your whisperers, forging letters; *** the disgrace of his illustrious country, was then seen trimly decked with his rings, indulging in effemi-

* This passage is supposed to be imperfect in the copies.

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nacy and luxury amidst the public calamities; borne through our streets in his sedan, and insulting the distresses of the poor. And can we expect future services from him, who hath neglected all past occasions of serving us? O goddess Minerva! O Jupiter protector! May our enemies ever have such counsellors and leaders!

Men of Athens! Do you yet remember the actions of your ancestors? They, when the state was threatened with many and great calamities, encountered dangers for your safety, in a manner worthy of their country, worthy of their free condition, worthy of their reputation. I shall not here engage in a long detail of our most early times; of the actions of Aristides and Themistocles, who fortified our city, and brought in such immense tributes, the free and voluntary contributions of the Greeks. Let us confine ourselves to the actions performed a little before our own days, the actions of Cephalus, of Thraso, of Heliodorus, of other great men; some of whom are yet alive. When the citadel of Thebes was possessed by the Lacedemonian forces[a], they assisted those exiles who attempted to rescue their country; they braved the dangers of war, and gave liberty to a neighbouring state that had been long subjected to slavery. Cephalus was the man, whose decree roused our fathers to this expedition; who, in defiance of the Lacedemonian power, of the hazards of war, of the danger of advising measures whose event was pre-

[a] See Plutarch, in the life of Pelopidas.

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carious, proposed the resolution, that the Athenians should march out, and support the exiles who had now possessed themselves of Thebes. And our fathers did issue forth; in a few days the Spartan garrison was forced out; the liberty of Thebes restored; and the conduct of this state approved worthy of our ancestors. These were counsellors, Athenians! these were leaders, worthy of you and of your country: not such miscreants as those, who never did, never can prove useful to the public; attentive only to the preservation of their own vile persons, to amassing their sordid gains; who render their country more inglorious than themselves; who now, when evidently convicted of bribery, practise all their arts to deceive you, and expect, amidst their baseness, to find credit and security in the fruits of their avarice. Let their long course of iniquity, at length, meet the just punishment. Let them die; their own sentence hath condemned them.

Is it not scandalous, Athenians! that your opinion of the guilt of Demosthenes should depend only on our representations? Do you not know that he is a corrupted traitor, a public robber, false to his friends, and a disgrace to the state? What decrees, what laws have not been made subservient to his gain? There are men in this tribunal, who were of the THREE HUNDRED, when he proposed the law relative to our trierarchs[a]. Inform those who

[a] This was the law, of which Demosthenes speaks in the oration

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stand near you, how, for a bribe of three talents, he altered and new-modelled this law, in every assembly; and, just as he was feed, inserted, or erased clauses. Say, in the name of Heaven! Think ye, O men of Athens, that he gained nothing by his decree, which gave Diphilus the honours of public maintenance, and a statue? Was he not paid for obtaining the freedom of our city to Chærephilus, and Phislon, and Camphilus, and Philip, and such mean persons as Epigenes and Conon? Was it for nothing he procured brazen statues to Berisades, and Satyrus, and Gorgippus, those detested tyrants; from whom he annually receives a thousand bushels of corn; although he is ready to lament the distresses of his fortune? Was it for nothing he made Taurosthenes an Athenian citizen, who enslaved his countrymen; and, together with his brother Callias, betrayed all Eubœa to Philip? whom our laws forbid to appear in Athens, on pain of suffering the punishment of those who return from exile[a]. Such a man, this friend to our constitution enrolled amongst our citizens. These, and many other instances, in which he hath prostituted our honours, can be proved by authentic evidence. And could he, who gladly descended to small gains, resist the temptation of so great a sum as twenty talents? Six

on the CROWN, by which every citizen was bound to contribute to the expense of the navy, in proportion to his fortune, instead of just paying one sixteenth part of the expense of one ship, whatever might be his circumstances.

[a] In the original, *from banishment by sentence of the Areopagus.*

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months hath the Areopagus been engaged, in their inquiry into the conduct of Demosthenes, Demades, and Cephisophon. And was all this time wasted only to make a false and unjust report? The whole body of our citizens, and of the Greeks, now fix their eyes upon you, (as I before observed,) impatient for the result of this day's business, earnest to be informed whether corruption may expect its just punishment, or fear no controul: whether the authority of our tribunals is to be confirmed, or destroyed, by the sentence passed upon Demosthenes; a man whose public conduct hath long since called for severe vengeance; who is obnoxious to all the curses ever denounced within this city; who hath sworn falsely by the tremendous FURIES, and all the divinities, whose names are sacred in the Areopagus; who hath been devoted to destruction in every assembly, as he is convicted of bribery, and hath dealt insidiously with his country, in defiance of the awful execration[a]; whose declarations are ever different from his private sentiments; who gave to Aristarchus the most shocking and nefarious advice. If there be any punishment due to perjury and villany, surely he must this day, this moment, feel its utmost weight.—Ye judges hear the execrations.

The Execrations.

AND now, ye judges, so prone to falsehood and

[a] *The awful execration.*] Which was pronounced by the herald, on the opening of every assembly, against those who should act or speak to the prejudice of the community.

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absurdity is Demosthenes, so devoid of shame, so insensible to this conviction, to the awful purport of these execrations, that, as I am informed, he presumes to urge against me, that I was once condemned by the Areopagus, and that I am guilty of the greatest inconsistency, in first objecting to the authority of this council, in my own case, and now founding my accusation against him on their authority. Thus, in order to deceive certain persons, hath he framed a tale utterly false and groundless. But, that he may not deceive you by this insinuation, that you may be assured that the Areopagus never did, never can condemn me; but that I was, indeed, treated injuriously by one wicked man, on whom you inflicted the just punishment of his guilt; I shall first briefly state this affair, and then return to my allegations against Demosthenes.

THERE are two methods in which the Areopagus may proceed to an indictment against any person. And what are these? By entering into an inquiry, either of their own mere motion and pleasure, or by direction of the popular assembly. There is no other way. If, then, thou darest to assert, monster as thou art, that the proceedings against me were in consequence of the assembly's direction, produce the decree, name my accusers, as I have done in the present case; shown the decree, by which the council was directed to enter into this inquiry, and produced the accusers chosen by the people, who have so fully displayed thy guilt. If this can be

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done in my case, I am ready to submit to death. But if you allege, that the Areopagus proceeded against me, of its own motion, produce some members of the council to attest this, as I shall to attest the contrary. The man, like you, an abandoned traitor, who so falsely charged both me and the council, I impeached before the FIVE HUNDRED, convicted of being suborned by Timocles, to conduct the prosecution against me, and prevailed on his judges to punish with due severity.—Take the evidence which I produced in this cause, whose truth and validity were never questioned, and which I shall now produce; read

The Evidence.

NOR is it at all wonderful, Athenians! that, when Pistias, a member of the Areopagus, accused me of injustice, (falsely charging both me, and the council,) truth should for a while be borne down; and that his malicious accusations should gain some credit against a man whose infirmities and retired life rendered him unable to make the necessary defence. But now, when the whole body of the Areopagus hath solemnly pronounced, that Demosthenes hath been guilty of accepting twenty talents, in contempt of his duty, and the good of his country; when this your popular leader, on whom all your hopes were fixed, is convicted of clandestinely receiving bribes; shall the laws, shall justice, shall truth, have less weight than the speeches of Demosthenes? Shall the calumnies he utters against the

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council prevail against the whole force of evidence? The council, saith he, hath frequently indicted persons of illegal proceedings, who have been acquitted on a fair trial; and, in some cases, scarcely a fifth part of the judges concurred with the Areopagus. But such cases are easily accounted for. This council takes cognizance of all crimes whatever, which are either referred to them by you, or belong immediately to their own jurisdiction; and, in such proceedings, they do not act like you, (let not my freedom give offence,) who are frequently influenced by pity, rather than directed by justice; but, in whatever cases our laws are violated, they consider only the evidence, and indict the guilty; well knowing, that if slight offences are neglected, men will be habituated and emboldened to proceed to greater. Hence are their indictments returned to you, against several delinquents of the inferior kind. These, when brought to trial, you acquit; not from the least suspicion of this council's integrity, but because you are inclined to mercy, rather than to rigour; and deem the punishment prescribed by the letter of the law too great for their offences. In these cases, Demosthenes, were the declarations of the council false? By no means! And yet, in these and other cases, have you acquitted those whom they declared guilty. Thus,

[a] Particular instances of these are mentioned in the text; but, as they cannot be interesting to the English reader, I have chosen the general expression. The same liberty hath been taken in this oration, in sometimes omitting names and circumstances, which could not give either light or beauty to the translation.

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when the Areopagus was directed to inquire, whether Polyeuctus had gone to Megara, and held an intercourse with our exiles, and to report their determination; they reported, that he had gone thither. Accusers were chosen; he was brought to a trial; you acquitted him, although he confessed that he had gone to Megara, to Nicophanes, who married his mother. For you thought it no such heinous offence that he had held an intercourse with his own father-in-law, when in exile and distress, and had assisted him to the utmost of his power. In this case, Demosthenes, no objection lay to the proceedings of the council: these were acknowledged to be just. Yet was Polyeuctus acquitted by his judges: for the Areopagus is only to consider, and declare the fact; but the criminal, as I have observed, was deemed worthy of the mercy of his tribunal. And are we, from such cases, to conclude, that no credit is due to the declarations of the Areopagus, by which you and your accomplices are charged with corruption? Show your judges, if you can, that your case is at all similar to those I have hinted at; that the guilt of bribery deserves mercy; and, then, you may expect mercy. But what saith the law? In other pecuniary matters, it directs that the injurious party shall be fined in twice the value of his fraudulent gains. In the case of bribery, two different punishments are prescribed: the first is death, that the example of the delinquent may serve as a terror to others: the second, a fine, tenfold of the bribe received, that they who

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proceed to such enormities, may be disappointed in their sordid hopes of gain.

To this do you object, that all the persons, thus declared guilty by the Areopagus, confessed that their judgment was fair and equitable, but that you have objected to their determination? No: you are the only person who have solicited to be judged by their sentence. You yourself preferred the decree, by which you are now condemned: you made the whole assembly a witness to your concessions: you yourself directed that death should be your punishment, if the council declared that you had received any part of those treasures which Harpalus brought hither; you yourself have moved, in former cases, that the Areopagus should have jurisdiction over all our citizens, should proceed, agreeably to our ancient laws, to punish all delinquents. To this council, which you now call an oligarchical faction, did you implicitly resign this whole city. By your decree, which acknowledged its authority, were two Athenians, the father and the son, delivered to the executioner: by your decree, was a descendant of our great deliverer Harmodius cast into chains: the decision of the Areopagus condemned [a]Antipho to torture and death: in obedience to its authority, and in execution of its just sentence, did you banish Archinus from the city as a traitor. And do you attempt to invalidate this authority in your own case? Is it just? Is this consonant to our laws?

[a] See note [a], Orat. XIV. p. 15, on the Oration for the Regulation of the State.

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On you, ye judges, I denounce the vengeance of the tremendous goddesses who possess this land, of the heroes of our country, of Minerva our patroness, of all our other guardian divinities, if ye suffer this corrupted traitor to escape, whom the state hath given into your hands; whose counsels have ruined our fortune, defeated our hopes, betrayed us to our assailants; whom our enemies wished to live, convinced that he must prove our destruction; whose death our friends regard as the only event which can raise us from this fallen state; and for whose just punishment they, therefore, breathe their warmest wishes, their most fervent prayers to the gods. To these gods I too pour out my petitions, that they may save the Athenians, who now see their children, their wives, their honour, all that they account valuable, exposed to danger.

What shall we say, ye judges, to those who stand waiting the event of this cause, if (which Heaven avert!) the craft of this impostor should deceive you? When we depart from this tribunal, with what face can each of you enter under his own roof, if you dismiss this traitor, whose roof was polluted by his corrupt gains? And, if you pronounce that council void of credit and authority, which we have hitherto regarded as highly awful and august, what hopes, my countrymen, (Oh! consider this,) what hopes can we conceive, on any perilous emergency, if we teach men to despise the danger of receiving bribes against their country? And, if an assembly,

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the guardians of their country on such emergencies, be branded with disgrace?

Let us suppose the case, that, agreeably to the decree of Demosthenes, Alexander should, by his ambassadors, demand the gold which Harpalus brought hither: that, to confirm the sentence of the Areopagus, he should send back the slaves, and direct us to extort the truth from them. What should we then say? Would you, Demosthenes, then move for a declaration of war? You, who have so nobly conducted our former wars? And, if such should be the resolution of the assembly, which would be the fairer procedure, to take that money to ourselves, which you secreted, in order to support our war; or to load our citizens with taxes, to oblige our women to send in their ornaments, to melt down our plate, to strip our temples of their offerings, as your decree directed? Though from your houses in the Pyræus, and in the city, you yourself contributed just fifty drachmæ: and nobly have your twenty talents repaid such bounty. Or, would you move that we should not declare war; but that we should, agreeably to your decree, return the gold, conveyed hither, to Alexander? In this case, the community must pay your share. And, is this just, is this equal dealing, is this constitutional, that our useful citizens should be taxed to glut your avarice? that men of avowed property should contribute; while your property lies concealed, notwithstanding you have received one hun-

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dred and fifty talents, partly from the king's, partly from Alexander's treasure; all carefully secreted, as you justly dread the consequences of your conduct? that our laws should direct that every public speaker, every leader of our forces, should recommend himself to the confidence of the public, by educating children, and by possessing land within our territory, nor assume the direction of our affairs until he had given these pledges of his fidelity; and that you should sell your patrimonial lands, and adopt the children of strangers, to elude the force of laws and oaths? that you should impose military service on others, you who basely fled from your own post?

To what causes, Athenians! is the prosperity or the calamity of a state to be ascribed? To none so eminently as to its ministers and generals. Turn your eyes to the state of Thebes. It subsisted once; it was once great; it had its soldiers and commanders. There was a time, (our elder citizens declare it, and on their authority I speak,) when Pelopidas led the SACRED BAND; when Epaminondas and his colleagues commanded the army. Then did the Thebans gain the victory of Leuctra; then did they pierce into the territories of Lacedemon, before deemed inaccessible: then did they achieve many and noble deeds. The Messenians they reinstated in their city, after a dispersion of four hundred years. To the Arcadians they gave freedom and independence; whilst the world viewed their illustrious conduct with applause. On the other hand,

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at what time did they act ignobly, unworthy of their native magnanimity? When Timolaus called himself Philip's friend, and was corrupted by his gold; when the traitor Proxenus led the mercenary forces collected for the expedition to Amphissa; when Theagenes, wretched and corrupt, like this man, was made commander of their BAND; then did these three men confound and utterly destroy the affairs of that state, and of all Greece. So indisputably true it is, that leaders are the great cause of all the good and all the evil that can attend a community. We see this, in the instance of our own state: reflect, and say, at what time was this city, great and eminent in Greece, worthy of our ancestors, and of their illustrious actions? When Conon, (as our ancient citizens inform us,) gained the naval victory at Cnidos; when Iphicrates cut off the detachment of the Lacedemonians; when Chabrias defeated the Spartan fleet at Naxos; when Timotheus triumphed in the sea-fight near Corcyra. Then, Athenians! then it was that the Lacedemonians, whose wise and faithful[a] leaders, whose adherence to their ancient institutions had rendered them illustrious, were reduced so low, as to appear before us, like abject supplicants, and implore for mercy. Our state, which they had subverted, by means of those who then conducted our affairs, once more became the sovereign of Greece; and no

[a] The word ἡγέμων seems to have been sometimes used, by the orator, as a general term, signifying not only commanders in war but popular leaders and ministers.

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wonder, when the men, now mentioned, were our generals; and Archinus and Cephalus our ministers. For what is the great security of every state and nation? Good generals and able ministers.

Let this be duly and attentively considered, and let us no longer suffer by the corrupt and wretched conduct of Demosthenes. Let it not be imagined, that we shall ever want good men and faithful counsellors. With all the generous severity of our ancestors, let us exterminate the man whose bribery, whose treason, are evidently detected; who could not resist the temptation of gold; who hath involved his country in calamities the most grievous: let us destroy this pest of Greece; let not his contagion infect our city; then may we hope for some change of fortune, then may we expect that our affairs will flourish. Attend, Athenians! while we read the decree proposed by Demosthenes, this friend to liberty, in the midst of our public disorders, immediately after the engagement at Chæronea. Hear also the Oracle of Dodona, the voice of Dodonæan Jove himself: (for long since have we been warned to guard against leaders and ministers.)—First read the Oracle.

The Oracle.

Now read this fine decree.

Part of the Decree.

He is a friend to liberty, indeed, who issues out

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his mandate for our citizens to take up arms; himself, spiritless and dastardly; who, if displeased at any of his countrymen, orders them to the post of toil and labour; and assumes, in every instance, a despotic power of acting as he pleases.—Now read the rest.

The Rest of the Decree.

You hear, ye judges, that the ambassadors are all named in the decree. But the instant this man was informed of the battle of Chæronea, and that Philip was preparing to invade us, he procured himself to be nominated an ambassador, that he might fly from the danger which threatened us; and, with a shameless insensibility to the distresses of his country, did he then secrete eight talents of the public money, while other citizens were freely contributing to the necessities of the state, from their own fortunes. Such was this minister, and such the occasions, the only occasions, he ever took of going abroad: the first, immediately after the engagement, when he fled from the danger of his country; the second, when protected by his office of[a] chief inspector of the solemnities, he went to Olympia, to confer with Nicanor. A man worthy to be in-

[a] Ἀρχιθεωρίας. The name of their office who went as deputies to offer sacrifices, &c. at the most famous temples, or (as in the present case) to attend at the public games. The scenes of such solemnities were exempt from all hostilities, and the persons of the Θεωροι and Ἀρχιθεωροι were sacred and inviolable.

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trusted with the interests of his country, worthy to be regarded as our great resource, in time of danger; who, when his fellow-citizens are called forth to meet their enemies, flies from his post, and hides himself at home; when the danger is at home, and his aid demanded here, pretends that he is an ambassador, and runs from the city. When there was a real occasion for an embassy, to induce Alexander to peace, he refused to move one step from home; but when it was once reported that this prince was so favourably disposed towards us, as to permit those to return, whom his power had banished, and that [a]Nicanor had come to Olympia, then did he offer his services, as inspector of the solemn rites. Such is this man's conduct: if we are to take the field, he is confined at home: if this be the scene of duty, he is an ambassador; if really sent on an embassy, we find him a fugitive[b].

ATTEND to those decrees of Demosthenes, which empower the Areopagus to inquire into such corrupt practices; when he himself, and when other

[a] Nicanor was the agent of Alexander, sent to the public games, to proclaim his master's kind intentions to the Greeks.

[b] Plutarch informs us (in his life of Demosthenes) that the orator was appointed, with some other Athenians, to go on an embassy to Alexander, immediately after the destruction of Thebes, in order to conclude a treaty with this prince: and that, when he had proceeded so far as Citheron, he began to reflect seriously on the danger of the Macedonian's resentment, and returned home in a fit of terror. So far his accuser's allegations are confirmed by history.

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citizens were accused; and, by comparing cases exactly parallel, convince yourselves of the infatuation of Demosthenes.

A Decree.

Did you, Demosthenes, propose this decree? You did: it cannot be denied. Was the report of the Areopagus decisive in this case? It was. Were the delinquents punished with death? They were: your decree had its due weight: it cannot be denied. Now, read that decree which Demosthenes preferred against Demosthenes. Attend, ye judges! —He hath detected, he hath informed against Demosthenes: (this is the fact, in one word:) and upon himself hath he justly pronounced the sentence of death. And now, when he is consigned over to your judges, selected from the body of our citizens, sworn to obey the laws and resolutions of the assembly; how will you proceed? Will you impiously defy the vengeance of the gods? Will you violate all that is accounted just and sacred among men? O, no! my countrymen! by no means! Grievous and scandalous it would be, if other citizens, not more unworthy, not more criminal than Demosthenes, should be destroyed by his decrees; whilst he himself, convicted by himself, and by his own decree, should despise you and your laws, and triumph in his impunity. This very council, this place, these laws, this very speaker, were the causes of all the severity which hath been, or may be felt, by other delinquents. The same speaker hath, in the presence

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of the popular assembly, committed the decision of his own cause to the same council. You were witnesses of this, of the compact which he made with his country. He drew up the decree, by which he is condemned: he deposited it with the mother of the gods, the guardian of all our public acts and laws. It would be impious to rescind it; to invoke the gods as witnesses to the integrity of your decisions; and to decide in opposition to those facts which the gods have sanctified. Neptune, when condemned by this council, in his contest with Mars, submitted to its decision. The tremendous furies, witnesses of its sentence in the cause of Orestes, of the sanctity and integrity of its judgment, have fixed their residence in this council. And how will you proceed, you who affect the character of consummate piety? Shall the wicked arts of Demosthenes prevail on you to invalidate its authority? No, Athenians! your wisdom cannot suffer it. You are, this day to give sentence, in no ordinary or trivial cause. You are to determine the safety of your country; you are to pronounce sentence on corruption, on those wicked practices which involve the world in calamity. If, then, you now exert yourselves to the utmost, exterminate those criminals, and correct the shameless eagerness of receiving bribes; then (if Heaven so pleases) you shall enjoy prosperity; but, if you permit your public speakers to sell you, such negligence must prove the ruin of your country.

In our popular assembly, Demosthenes proposed,

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(as a thing indispensably required by the rules of justice,) that all the treasure, brought into Attica by Harpalus, should be seized and kept for Alexander. But say, how shall we keep this treasure, if you secrete your twenty talents, if another secures his sum, if Demades is to have his ample portion, if the rest are to possess their several shares, as specified in the report? Sixty-four talents are declared to be the amount of such distributions. And which is the nobler and the juster procedure, to intrust the whole to the state, until the people shall have come to some fair determination; or to suffer our orators and some generals to divide the spoil? To intrust it to the public, must, in my opinion, be universally acknowledged just and reasonable; that it should be possessed by private persons, can never be pretended.

Many, and various, and inconsistent, are the allegations, which you shall hear this man urge, ye judges! For he knows, that heretofore you have always suffered him to amuse you with airy hopes and false representations; nor ever retained the memory of his promises longer than whilst he was delivering them. If, then, the state is to be still loaded with the baseness and accursed fortune of Demosthenes, I can only say, that, whatever may be the event, we must submit. But, if we still retain due regard to our country, if we still retain the just abhorrence of wicked and corrupted men, if we would redeem our fortune, and form happy presages of futurity, we must be deaf to the entreaties

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of this abandoned impostor; we must not suffer his artful tears, and insidious supplications, to prevail upon us. Which of you, O Athenians! is so credulous, who is so inconsiderate, who so inexperienced in all past and present affairs, as to expect, that a state, reduced from such grandeur to its present ignoble condition, (from what cause, or what fortune I shall not say,) a state, that now finds its distresses aggravated, and its dangers increased, by the corrupt practices of its citizens, loaded with odious imputations, obliged to justify his conduct, to obviate the suspicion of having received money which some individuals have secreted; that such a state, I say, can still be saved, by the services of such a man? Why should I mention the numerous instances of his false and inconsistent conduct? How, at one time, he insisted and proposed, that no divinity should be admitted, but such as descended to us from ancient tradition; and the next moment declared, that the people should not contend with Alexander, about his claim of divine honours? How, when he himself was in danger of a trial, he impeached Callimedon of conspiring with the exiles at Megara to destroy our constitution; and then, at once, withdrew his impeachment? How, in the assembly lately convened, he procured and suborned a witness to testify, that a design was formed against our stores, but never preferred a decree; only alarmed us with these informations, just to serve the present purpose?—Of all these things you have been witnesses.

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He is, indeed, my countrymen, an impostor and a profligate; no true Athenian; as all his conduct and transactions declare. What ships of war were provided for the state, in his administration, as in that of Eubulus? What conveniences or buildings for our marine? When did he, by any decree, or any law, regulate our cavalry? What force, either by land or sea, did he provide, when so many fair occasions offered, after the fatal engagement at Chæronea? What offerings did he deposit in our citadel, to grace the shrine of our patroness? What edifices hath he erected in our port, in our city, or in our territory? None. And shall this man, who, in war, hath proved a coward, in his civil conduct, useless; who hath never once attempted to oppose or controul the traitorous enemies of the state; who hath wavered, and changed, and deserted the service of the people; shall this man find mercy? No. If you are wise, if you have a generous regard for yourselves and for your country, embrace this happy opportunity; deliver to the hand of justice those public speakers whose corruption hath disgraced the state, and guard against that danger, which the gods, by their sacred oracles, have frequently denounced; the danger to be apprehended from leaders and counsellors. Hear the words of this Oracle. Read!

The Oracle.

[a]But how can we have one mind, how can we

[a] It appears plainly, that this oracle concluded with recom-

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all conspire to the general interest, if our ministers and leaders are suffered to desert that interest for a bribe? If you and all the people are to see your native soil, your religion, your children, your wives, exposed to the danger of utter ruin; while they form their iniquitous schemes in concert; affect to be severe, and to inveigh against each other in public; but in private all conspire, and concur in one design, that of deceiving and abusing your credulity?—What is really the conduct of a minister true to the community, and sincerely an enemy to those who act and speak against its interest? Or, what is said to have been the regular tenor of their conduct who lived before your time, Demosthenes and Polyeuctes, when the state was involved in no distress? Did they not bring criminals to justice? Did they not impeach? Did they not prosecute them for illegal practices? Where is the instance, in which you have imitated this conduct, you who affect such veneration for the people, who tell us, that our security depends wholly on their determinations? Did you commence any prosecutions against Demades, when his administration had been so repeatedly and enormously illegal? Did you endeavour to control any of those his actions, purposely calculated to oppose our interest? No; not one! Did you impeach him, when his conduct had, in many instances, violated our decrees and laws? Never! No: you suffered his statue to be erected

mending unanimity, so as to form a connexion with this passage, in which, probably, the very words of the oracle are repeated.

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in our city; you suffered him to obtain the honour of public maintenance, as if equal in merit to the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton. On what occasion hath the people ever experienced your affections? When have they felt the good effects of your force and energy, as public speakers? Is it then you boast this energy, when you deceive them, when you can gain their attention to your servile flattery? "No resource can you find abroad; "your only refuge is in their kindness."—First, you should have approved yourselves zealous in opposing those whose counsels are repugnant to the people's interest; then might you expect some credit, when you declare, that your only refuge is in the kindness of the people. But your declarations are false; you have secured your resources abroad, by vying with each other in abject flattery of those who confessedly devote themselves to the service of Alexander; who, confessedly, have shared those bribes which the council hath thus detected and condemned. You, Demosthenes, in particular, have had your interview with Nicanor, in the presence of all Greece: you have been at Olympia; you have consulted the god. *Thus is it plain that you are in no danger from abroad.* Yet you represent your condition as truly pitiable, traitor and hireling as you are, vainly imagining, that your wicked artifices shall deceive; and that you shall escape the punishment due to your offences. Thus have you proved more shameless and abandoned than Demades himself. He, indeed, did not disguise his guilt; he confessed that he had received, and would

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receive, gold. But then he did not presume to show his face in public; he did not dare to object to the report of the council; though he never moved that the sentence of the council should be decisive in his case; never condemned himself to die, if adjudged guilty of bribery by the council. But such was your dependence on your fair speeches, such was your contempt of the simplicity of your countrymen, that you thought it easy to persuade your judges, that in your case only the Areopagus had reported falsely; against you alone, their sentence had been unjust. But who can admit of such a thought?

And now, my fellow-citizens, consider how you are to act. The people have returned to you an information of a crime lately committed. Demosthenes stands first before you, to suffer the punishment denounced against all whom this information condemns. We have explained his guilt, with an unbiassed attention to the laws. Will you then discover a total disregard of all these offences? Will you, when intrusted with so important a decision, invalidate the judgment of the people, of the Areopagus, of all mankind? Will you take upon yourselves the guilt of these men? Or, will you give the world an example of that detestation in which this state holds traitors and hirelings that oppose our interest for a bribe? This entirely depends on you. You, the fifteen hundred chosen judges, have the safety of our country in your hands. This day, this sentence you are now to pronounce, must

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establish this city in full security, if it be consonant to justice; or must entirely defeat all our hopes, if it gives support to such iniquitous practices. Let not the false tears of Demosthenes make an impression on your minds, nor sacrifice our rights and laws to his supplications. Necessity never forced him to receive his share of this gold: he was more than sufficiently enriched by your treasure. Necessity hath not forced him, now, to enter on his defence; his crimes are acknowledged; his sentence pronounced by himself. The sordid baseness, the guilt of all his past life, have, at length, brought down vengeance upon his head. Let not then his tears and lamentations move you. It is your country that much more deservedly claims your pity; your country, which his practices have exposed to danger; your country, which now supplicates its sons, presents your wives and children before you, beseeching you to save them, by punishing this traitor: that country, in which your ancestors, with a generous zeal, encountered numberless dangers, that they might transmit it free to their posterity; in which we find many and noble examples of ancient virtue. Here fix your attention. Look to your religion, the sacred rites of antiquity, the sepulchres of your fathers; and give sentence with an unshaken integrity. When Demosthenes attempts to deceive and abuse you, with his tears and wailings, then turn your eyes to the city, reflect upon its former glory, and consider whether Demosthenes hath been reduced to greater wretchedness, by the

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city; or the city, by Demosthenes. You will find that he, from the time that he was intrusted with our affairs, rose, from the condition of a writer of speeches, and hired pleader for Ctesippus and Phormio, to a state of affluence superior to all his countrymen: from obscurity, from a birth ennobled by no ancestry, he arose to eminence: but, that the city hath been reduced to a condition utterly unworthy of its ancient illustrious honours.

Despising then the entreaties, the false artifices of this man, let justice and integrity be your only objects. Consider the good of your country, not that of Demosthenes. This is the part of honest upright judges. And should any man arise to plead in favour of Demosthenes, consider, that such a man, if not involved in the same guilt, is at least disaffected to the state; as he would screen those from justice who have been bribed to betray its interests; as he would subvert the authority of the Areopagus, on which our lives depend, and confound and destroy all our laws and institutions. But should any orator or general arise to defend him, in hopes to defeat an indictment, by which they themselves must be attacked, suffer them not to speak; consider that they have been accomplices in entertaining and conveying Harpalus away. Consider, that these men do really speak against their country, and are the common enemies of our laws and constitution. Silence such insidious advocates. If the facts alleged be false, let that be proved. And, especially, let your indignation fall

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on him who foolishly relies on his power of speaking; who, when evidently convicted of receiving bribes, adds to his guilt, by attempting to practise his artifice upon you. Inflict that punishment upon him, which the honour of your country and your own honour demands. Else, by one vote, by one sentence, will you bring down all their guilt upon yourselves and on the people, who have, or may be convicted of corruption; and you yourselves will condemn that ill-judged lenity which suffers them to escape: when it is no longer in your power to prevent the fatal consequences.

THUS have I endeavoured to discharge my part of this prosecution. I have assisted without regard to any consideration, but that of justice, and the interest of the state. I have not deserted the cause of my country, nor sacrificed the trust reposed in me by the people, to private favour. I but request that your sentence may be directed by the same principles. And now let those speak, who are to succeed me in this prosecution[a].

END OF THE ORATION OF DINARCHUS AGAINST DEMOSTHENES.

[a] The former part of the Philippic orations was closed with a brief account of the overthrow of Grecian liberty by the arms of Macedon. The addition of the oration of Dinarchus to the present collection, affords an occasion of deducing the history of our orator himself, from his public administration, down to the fatal period of his life. A short time before he had been loaded with the imputation of having suffered himself to be corrupted by Harpalus, he had a fair occasion of explaining the general tenor

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of his public conduct: and, on this occasion, (I mean his contest with Æschines about the crown,) the people gave a full and ample testimony to the wisdom and integrity of his counsels, to his patriotic zeal and indefatigable ardour in the service of his country.

Yet his character, great and splendid as it certainly was, had yet one fault, which obscured and disgraced its lustre, that of too passionate a regard for money. And the indelicate means to which he descended, of acquiring riches, diverted the attention of severe observers from the noble purposes to which he sometimes applied them. Faction must have contributed to increase the clamour which the suspicion of his avarice excited. And both might have conspired to give credit to the late accusation of his enemies. The testimony of Pausanias (as mentioned in the introduction to the oration of Dinarchus) affords a very strong presumption of his innocence in this case. His own steady appeal to the justice of his country, his forwardness in promoting an inquiry into the private practices of Harpalus, and the zeal which he expressed for detecting those who had been really guilty of receiving his money, seem to be no indications of his own guilt; unless it be supposed, that he had arrived to a pitch of consummate hypocrisy, and even of folly. The sentence of the Areopagus, indeed, condemned him; but this sentence would have more weight, had we any authentic evidence that, amidst all the corruption and degeneracy of Athens, this council still maintained its purity and integrity. A private man (as Dinarchus himself declares) found means to corrupt one Areopagite. The Macedonian faction might, with equal ease, have corrupted the whole council; and, although the authority of this council afforded a plausible and popular argument to our orator's accusers, yet the people did not always pay an implicit deference to their authority. The other persons who were, on this occasion, pronounced guilty by the Areopagus, were, when brought to trial, acquitted by their judges, though Demosthenes was condemned in the first heat and violence of the public resentment.

In consequence of his condemnation he was committed to prison, until he should pay the fine of fifty talents imposed upon him. The disgrace of his sentence operated so powerfully on his bodily frame, that he grew impatient and unable to endure the

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rigour of confinement, and, by the connivance of his keepers, found means to escape, and to fly from the city. He chose Trœzene for his residence; where he lived, for some time, in a gloomy and dejected state of exile; frequently turning his face towards Attica, (saith Plutarch,) and bursting into tears, and constantly warning the youth who visited him, not to meddle in political affairs.

Whilst Demosthenes continued in this melancholy state, the Greeks, impatient of subjection, and still possessed with hopes of recovering their ancient glory, took the advantage of Alexander's absence, and began to concert measures for reducing the Macedonian power, and recovering their own independence. The satraps of Asia encouraged them in these dispositions; and Leosthenes, an Athenian of eminence, was soon made commander of a large body of forces that had been dismissed from the service of the Macedonians; and was supplied by his country with all necessaries for the vigorous prosecution of war. In the midst of these preparations advice was received of Alexander's death, which increased the hopes and animated the efforts of the Greeks. The Athenians, in particular, dispatched their ambassadors to the several states, to urge them to embrace this happy opportunity, and to take up arms for the recovery of their liberty. The states paid the utmost attention to these remonstrances, collected their forces, marched under the command of Leosthenes, gained some advantages over the Macedonians, pressed forward into Thessaly, defeated Antipater, the governor of Macedon, and blocked him up in Lamia, where their general, Leosthenes, was unfortunately slain, as he was visiting the works, and directing the siege, with the fairest prospect of success.

During these commotions in Greece, Demosthenes, though an exile, could not remain an unconcerned spectator. A zeal for opposing the progress of the Macedonian power had ever been his strongest passion. He still retained the same violent impressions, and, transported to find his countrymen now full of that spirit which his life had been spent in raising, he attended the Athenian deputies from city to city, assisting and supporting their remonstrances. He was strenuously opposed by Pytheas, an Athenian, who had revolted to Antipater. These two partisans happened to meet in Arcadia, where the heat of their opposition

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was inflamed to a considerable degree of passion and animosity. "Whenever," said Pytheas, "we see asses milk brought into a "family, we conclude that it is distempered; just so, when "Athenian ambassadors are introduced into any city, we may "presume that it labours under disorders." "True," replied Demosthenes, "and as asses milk is ever brought into a family "to restore its health; so the Athenians never send ambassadors "to any city, but to put an end to the disorders which oppress "it."

The liveliness of this answer had more effect than all the pathetic remonstrances and entreaties of Demosthenes. It delighted the imaginations, and flattered the vanity of his countrymen. We may well suppose, that their condemnation had been violent and precipitate, when so slight an incident was sufficient to reconcile him to their favour. He was instantly recalled; a ship was dispatched to convey him home; and, no sooner did he land at the Piræus, than he found himself surrounded by the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and congratulated by their united acclamations.

The fine, formerly imposed upon him, could not indeed be remitted; but an expedient was found to elude the law. It had been usual to assign a sum of money to the person who was intrusted to provide for the celebration of a festival in honour of JUPITER THE SAVER. To this office Demosthenes was appointed, and, for the performance of it, the people assigned him fifty talents, the sum in which he had been condemned.

But Demosthenes did not long enjoy his present triumph. A considerable reinforcement, which Antipater received from Asia, enabled him to prosecute the war with new vigour against the confederated Greeks, whom he defeated at Cranon in Thessaly. Each state was now forced, by a prompt submission, to recommend itself to the mercy of the conqueror. The severest terms were imposed on the Athenians. Their form of government was changed to an oligarchy; they were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison; and Antipater demanded that ten of their public speakers, (in which number Demosthenes was included,) should be given up to his vengeance. Alexander had made the like demand, and the Athenians bravely refused to comply. But now Demosthenes found them by no means inclined to pro-

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tect him. He, therefore, fled from the city; and his fickle countrymen, with a shameful, servile adulation to the conqueror, condemned him to death. He gained Calauria, an obscure island; and then took sanctuary in the temple of Neptune. But he was quickly pursued to the place of his retirement, by Archias, one of the principal instruments of Antipater's revenge, attended by a party of soldiers. This Archias, who had formerly been a tragedian, appeared before Demosthenes, affected to commiserate his condition, and gave him hopes of pardon and security. To this he replied, with a cold contempt: "You never could affect "me on the stage; nor can your promises make the least im-"pression." When Archias began to speak in more peremptory and menacing terms; "Now," said Demosthenes, "you pro-"nounce the very dictates of the Macedonian oracle: before, "you but acted a part. I desire but a moment's respite, that I "may send some directions to my family." He then retired, and seemed employed in writing for a while; Archias and his soldiers drew near, and found him with his head bowed down and covered. They imputed his behaviour to timidity, and unmanly terror, and pressed him to rise. The great Athenian had now completely executed his fatal purpose; and perceiving that the poison he had taken, by this time had seized his vitals, he uncovered his head, and fixing his eyes on Archias, "Now," said he, "you need not "scruple to act the part of Creon in the tragedy, and cast out this "corpse unburied." (Alluding to a speech in the Antigone of Sophocles, in which Creon orders that the body of Polynices should be exposed to dogs and birds of prey.) "O gracious "Neptune!" continued Demosthenes, "I will not defile thy "temple; while I yet live, I retire from this holy place, which "Antipater and the Macedonians have not left unpolluted." He then rose, and desired to be supported; but, as he passed by the altar, in a feeble and trembling pace, he sunk down and expired with a groan.

Thus died Demosthenes, at the age of sixty years. His countrymen, ever wavering and inconsistent in their conduct, regretted the death of that man whom they had basely given up to destruction; and, by the honours which they paid to his memory, seemed desirous to efface the stain of their ingratitude.

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Among other honours paid to their illustrious citizen, his statue was erected in the city with an inscription on its base, to the following purport:

> If, with a sage and martial soul inspir'd,
> Thine arm had conquer'd, as thy counsels fir'd;
> Greece then had brav'd the Macedonian sword,
> Nor bow'd, submissive, to her conq'ring lord.

An inscription which, possibly, may, without presumption, be pronounced defective in point of delicacy, as it professes to do honour to Demosthenes, but, at the same time, keeps in full view the great and notoriously exceptionable part of his character.

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THE ORATIONS

OF

ÆSCHINES & DEMOSTHENES

ON THE

CROWN.

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INTRODUCTION.

THROUGH the whole progress of that important contest, which Athens maintained against the Macedonians, Demosthenes and Æschines had ever been distinguished by their weight and influence in the assemblies of their state. They had adopted different systems of ministerial conduct, and stood at the head of two opposite parties, each so powerful as to prevail by turns, and to defeat the schemes of their antagonist. The leaders had, on several occasions, avowed their mutual opposition and animosity. Demosthenes, in particular, had brought an impeachment against his rival, and obliged him to enter into a formal defence of his conduct, during an embassy at the court of Macedon. His resentment was confirmed by this desperate attack; and his success, in bearing up against it, encouraged him to watch some favourable opportunity for retorting on his accuser.

The defeat at Chæronea afforded this opportunity. The people in general were, indeed, too equitable to withdraw their confidence from Demosthenes, although his measures had been

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unsuccessful. But faction, which judges, or affects to judge, merely by events, was violent and clamorous. The minister was reviled, his conduct severely scrutinised, his errors aggravated, his policy condemned, and he himself threatened with inquiries, trials, and impeachments. The zeal of his partisans, on the other hand, was roused by this opposition; and they deemed it expedient to procure some public solemn declaration in favour of Demosthenes, as the most effectual means to silence his accusers.

It was usual with the Athenians, and, indeed, with all the Greeks, when they would express their sense of extraordinary merit, to crown the person so distinguished with a chaplet of olive interwoven with gold. The ceremony was performed in some populous assembly, convened either for business or entertainment; and proclamation was made, in due form, of the honour thus conferred, and the services for which it was bestowed.

To procure such an honour for Demosthenes, at this particular juncture, was thought the most effectual means to confound the clamour of his enemies. He had lately been intrusted with the repair of the fortifications of Athens, in which he expended a considerable sum of his

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own, over and above the public appointment, and thus enlarged the work beyond the letter of his instructions. It was therefore agreed, that Ctesiphon, one of his zealous friends, should take this occasion of moving the senate to prepare a Decree (to be ratified by the popular assembly) reciting this particular service of Demosthenes, representing him as a citizen of distinguished merit, and ordaining that a GOLDEN CROWN (as it was called) should be conferred upon him. To give this transaction the greater solemnity, it was moved that the ceremony should be performed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the festival held in honour of that god, when not only the Athenians, but other Greeks, from all parts of the nation, were assembled to see the tragedies exhibited in that festival.

The senate agreed to the resolution. But, before it could be referred to the popular assembly, for their confirmation, Æschines, who had examined the whole transaction with all the severity that hatred and jealousy could inspire, pronounced it irregular and illegal, both in form and matter: and without delay assumed the common privilege of an Athenian citizen, to commence a suit against Ctesiphon, as the first mover of a decree repugnant to the laws, a crime of a very heinous nature in the Athenian polity.

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The articles on which he founds his accusation are reduced to these three.

I. Whereas every citizen, who has borne any magistracy, is obliged, by law, to lay a full account of his administration before the proper officers, and that it is expressly enacted, that no man shall be capable of receiving any public honours, till this his account hath been duly examined and approved; Ctesiphon hath yet moved that Demosthenes should receive a crown previously to the examination of his conduct in the office conferred upon him, and before the passing of his accounts.

II. Whereas it is ordained that all crowns conferred by the community of citizens shall be presented and proclaimed in their assembly, and in no other place whatsoever; Ctesiphon hath yet proposed that the crown should be presented and proclaimed in the theatre.

III. Whereas the laws pronounce it highly penal for any man to insert a falsehood in any motion or decree; Ctesiphon hath yet expressly declared, as the foundation of this his decree, that the conduct of Demosthenes hath been ever excellent, honourable, and highly serviceable to the state; a point directly opposite to the truth.

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The two former of these articles he endeavours to establish by an appeal to the laws and ordinances of Athens. Here he was obliged to be critical and copious, which may render the first parts of his pleading not so agreeable to an English reader, as that in which he enters into the public transactions of his country, and the ministerial conduct of his adversary.

The prosecution was commenced in the year of the fatal battle of Chæronea. But the final decision of the cause had been suspended about eight years; and this interval was full of great events, to which each of the speakers frequently alluded.

It was the first care of Alexander, on his accession to the throne, to undeceive those among the Greeks, who, like Demosthenes, had affected to despise his youth. He instantly marched into Peloponnesus, and demanded the people of that country to accept him as commander of their forces against Persia. The Spartans alone sullenly refused. The Athenians, on their part, were intimidated, and yielded to his demand with greater expressions of reverence and submission than they had ever paid to his father. —He returned to Macedon to hasten his preparations, where he found it necessary to march against his barbarous neighbours, who were me-

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ditating a descent upon his kingdom. His conflicts with these people occasioned a report to be spread through Greece, that the young king had fallen in battle. The Macedonian faction were alarmed: their opposers industriously propagated the report, and excited the Greeks to seize this opportunity to rise up against a power which had reduced them to a state of ignominious subjection. The Thebans unhappily yielded to such instances, took arms, and slaughtered the Macedonian garrison that had been stationed in their citadel.

But this insolence and cruelty did not long remain unpunished. Alexander suddenly appeared before their gates, at the head of his army, and in a few days became master of their city, where he executed his vengeance with fire and sword. The miserable state of desolation and captivity to which the Thebans were thus reduced, is attributed, in the following oration, to the pernicious counsels and machinations of Demosthenes, and displayed in the most lively and pathetic terms.

Nor did this extraordinary instance of rigour fail of its intended effect. The Greeks were astonished and confounded. The Athenians thought it expedient to send a deputation of

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their citizens, to congratulate the king of Macedon on his late successes. Demosthenes was one of the persons chosen to execute this commission; but, conscious of the resentment which his well-known zeal against the Macedonian interest must have merited from Alexander, he deserted the other deputies while they were on their journey, and returned precipitately to Athens. Nor, indeed, were his apprehensions groundless; for, although the address was graciously received, yet the king took this occasion of complaining, in a manner which marked his superiority, of those factious leaders among the Athenians, to whom he affected to impute all the calamities of Greece, from the battle of Chæronea to the destruction of Thebes. He demanded that several of the public speakers, and Demosthenes among the rest, should be delivered up to the power of the Amphyctionic Council, there to abide their trial, and to meet the punishment due to their offences. This was in effect to demand that they should be delivered into his own hands. The Athenians were in the utmost consternation, but found means to deprecate his resentment, and prevail upon him to be satisfied with the banishment of Charidemus, one of his most distinguished opposers: who accordingly repaired to the court of Darius, where his sage counsel, that the Per-

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sian should avoid an engagement with Alexander, provoked the haughty and capricious tyrant to put him to death.

During Alexander's famous expedition into Asia and the progress of his stupendous victories, Greece enjoyed a sort of calm, and the Athenians found leisure to decide the contest between their rival statesmen. The parties now appeared before a number of judges, probably not less than five hundred, and these chosen from the citizens at large, men of lively and warm imaginations, and of all others most susceptible of the impressions made by the force and artifice of popular eloquence. The partisans of each side crowded round, to assist and support their friend; and the tribunal was surrounded, not only by the citizens of Athens, but by vast numbers from all parts of Greece, curious to hear two so celebrated speakers, upon a subject so engaging as the late national transactions, and to be witnesses of the decision of a cause, which had been, for some years, the object of general attention and expectation.

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THE

ORATION OF ÆSCHINES

AGAINST

CTESIPHON.

You see, Athenians! what forces are prepared, what numbers formed and arrayed, what soliciting through the assembly, by a certain party; and all this, to oppose the fair and ordinary course of justice in the state. As to me, I stand here in firm reliance, first on the immortal gods, next on the laws, and you; convinced that faction never can have greater weight with you, than law and justice.

It were to be wished, indeed, that the presidents of our senate, and of our popular assembly, would attend with due care to the order of their debates; that the laws ordained by Solon, to secure the decency of public speaking, might still preserve their force; that so, our elder citizens might first arise in due and decent form, (as these laws direct,) without tumult or confusion; and each declare, in order, the salutary counsels of his sage experience; that, after these, our other citizens who chose to speak, might severally, and in order, according to

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their ages, propose their sentiments on every subject. Thus, in my opinion, would the course of government be more exactly regulated; and thus would our assemblies be less frequently engaged in trials. But now, when these institutions, so confessedly excellent, have lost their force; when men propose illegal resolutions, without reserve or scruple; when others are found to put them to the vote, not regularly chosen to preside in our assemblies, but men who have raised themselves to this dignity by intrigue; when, if any of the other senators on whom the lot of presidency hath fairly fallen, should discharge his office faithfully, and report your voices truly, there are men who threaten to impeach him, men who invade our rights, and regard the administration as their private property; who have secured their vassals, and raised themselves to sovereignty; who have suppressed such judicial procedures as are founded on established laws, and, in the decision of those appointed by temporary decrees, consult their passions; now, I say, that most sage and virtuous proclamation is no longer heard: "WHO IS DISPOSED TO SPEAK, OF "THOSE ABOVE FIFTY YEARS OLD?" and then, "WHO OF THE OTHER CITIZENS IN THEIR "TURNS?" Nor is the indecent licence of our speakers any longer restrained by our laws, by our magistrates[a]; no, nor by the presiding tribe, which contains a full tenth part of the community.

[a] *By our magistrates.* In the original, "*by the* PRYTANES, *nor* "*by the* PROEDRI." Of which officers some account hath been

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– If such be our situation, such the present circumstances of the state, and of this you seem convinced; one part alone of our polity remains; (as far as I may presume to judge;) prosecutions[a] of those who violate the laws. Should you suppress these; should you permit them to be suppressed; I freely pronounce your fate; that your government must be gradually and imperceptibly given up to the power of a few. You are not to be informed, ATHENIANS! that there are three different modes of government established in the world; the monarchical, the government of the few, and the free republic. In the two former, the administration is directed by the pleasure of the ruling powers; in free states, it is regulated by established laws. It is then a truth, of which none shall be ignorant, which every man should impress deeply on his mind; that when he enters the tribunal, to decide a case of violation of the laws, he that day gives

already given, in the introduction to the first Philippic Oration translated.

[a] *Prosecutions*, &c. These any citizen might commence against the author of any decree or public resolution, which he deemed of pernicious tendency, or repugnant to the established laws. The mover of any new law was also liable to the like prosecution. And this was necessary in a constitution like that of Athens, where all decisions were made in large and tumultuous assemblies. Here, a few leaders might easily gain an absolute authority, and prevail upon the giddy multitude to consent to any proposition whatever, (if enforced by plausible arguments,) unless they were restrained by the fear of being called to account for the motions they had made, and the resolutions passed at their instances.

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sentence on his own liberties. Wisely therefore hath our legislator prescribed this, as the first clause in the oath of every judge: "I WILL GIVE MY "VOICE AGREEABLY TO THE LAWS;" well knowing, that when the laws are preserved sacred in every state, the freedom of their constitution is most effectually secured. Let these things be ever kept in memory, that your indignation may be kindled against all those whose decrees have been illegal. Let not any of their offences be deemed of little moment, but all of the greatest importance; nor suffer your rights to be wrested from you, by any power; neither by the combinations of your generals, who, by conspiring with our public speakers, have frequently involved the state in danger; nor by the solicitations of foreigners, who have been brought up to screen some men from justice, whose administration hath been notoriously illegal. But as each man[a] among you would be ashamed to desert from his post in battle; so think it shameful to abandon the post this day assigned to you by the laws, that of guardians of the constitution.

LET it also be remembered, that the whole body of our citizens hath now committed their state, their liberties, into your hands. Some of them are present, awaiting the event of this trial; others are

[a] *As each man,* &c. To perceive the whole force and artifice of this similitude, the reader is to recollect, that at the battle of Chæronea, Demosthenes betrayed the utmost weakness and cowardice, a matter of great triumph to his enemies, and a constant subject of their ridicule.

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called away to attend on their private affairs. Show the due reverence to these; remember your oaths and your laws; and if we convict Ctesiphon of having proposed decrees illegal, false, and detrimental to the state, reverse these illegal decrees, assert the freedom of your constitution, and punish those who have administered your affairs in opposition to your laws, in contempt of your constitution, and in total disregard of your interest. If, with these sentiments impressed upon your minds, you attend to what is now to be proposed, you must, I am convinced, proceed to a decision just and religious, a decision of the utmost advantage to yourselves, and to the state.

As to the general nature of this prosecution, thus far have I premised, and, I trust, without offence. Let me now request your attention to a few words about the laws relative to persons ACCOUNTABLE to the public, which have been violated by the decree proposed by Ctesiphon.

In former times there were found magistrates of the most distinguished rank, and intrusted with the management of our revenues, who in their several stations were guilty of the basest corruption, but who, by forming an interest with the speakers in the senate, and in the popular assembly, anticipated their accounts by public honours, and declarations of applause. Thus, when their conduct came to a formal examination, their accusers were involved in great perplexity, their judges in still greater. For many of the persons thus subject to

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examination, though convicted, on the clearest evidence, of having defrauded the public, were yet suffered to escape from justice; and no wonder. The judges were ashamed that the same man, in the same city, possibly in the same year, should be publicly honoured in our festivals, that proclamations should be made, "that the people had conferred a "golden crown upon him, on account of his in- "tegrity and virtue;" that the same man, I say, in a short time after, when his conduct had been brought to an examination, should depart from the tribunal, condemned of fraud. In their sentence, therefore, the judges were necessarily obliged to attend, not to the nature of those offences, but to the reputation of the state.

Some of our[a] magistrates observing this, framed a law, (and its excellence is undeniable,) expressly forbidding any man to be honoured with a crown, whose conduct had not yet been submitted to the legal examination. But, notwithstanding all the precaution of the framers of this law, pretences were still found of force sufficient to defeat its intention. Of these you are to be informed, lest you should be unwarily betrayed into error. Some of those who in defiance of the laws have moved, that men who yet stood accountable for their conduct,

[a] In the original, NOMOΘΕΤΗΣ τις. *i. e.* One of those who were appointed to revise the laws, and to propose the amendment or abrogation of such as were found inconvenient, as well as such new laws as the public interest seemed to demand. See note[a] on the second Olynthiac, Vol. i. p. 61.

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should be crowned, are still influenced by some degree of decency (if this can with propriety be said of men who propose resolutions directly subversive of the laws): they still seek to cast a kind of veil upon their shame. Hence are they sometimes careful to express their resolutions in this manner, 'that 'the man whose conduct is not yet submitted to 'examination, shall be honoured with a crown,' "when his accounts have first been examined, and "approved." But this is no less injurious to the state; for by these crowns and public honours is his conduct prejudged, and his examination anticipated: while the author of such resolutions demonstrates to his hearers, that his proposal is a violation of the laws, and that he is ashamed of his offence. But Ctesiphon (my countrymen) hath at once broken through the laws relative to the examination of our magistrates; he hath scorned to recur to that subterfuge now explained: he hath moved you to confer a crown upon Demosthenes, previously to any account, to any examination of his conduct: at the very time while he was yet employed in the discharge of his magistracy.

But there is another evasion, of a different kind, to which they are to recur. These offices, say they, to which a citizen is elected by an occasional decree, are by no means to be accounted *magistracies*, but *commissions* or *agencies*. Those alone are magistrates whom the proper officers[a] appoint by lot in

[a] *The proper officers.* In the original, Thesmothetæ, *i. e.* the

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the temple of Theseus, or the people elect by suffrage in their ordinary assemblies; such as generals of the army, commanders of the cavalry, and such-like; all others are but commissioners, who are but to execute a particular decree. To this their plea I shall oppose your own law, a law enacted from a firm conviction, that it must at once put an end to all such evasions. In this it is expressly declared, that all offices whatever, appointed by the voices of the people, shall be accounted magistracies. In one general term the author of this law hath included all. All hath he declared MAGISTRATES, whom the VOTES OF THE ASSEMBLY HAVE APPOINTED; and particularly THE INSPECTORS OF PUBLIC WORKS.—Now Demosthenes inspected the repair of our walls, the most important of public works.—THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN INTRUSTED WITH ANY PUBLIC MONEY FOR MORE THAN THIRTY DAYS. THOSE WHO ARE ENTITLED TO PRESIDE IN A TRIBUNAL[a].—But the inspectors of works are en-

six inferior Archons, who were called by this general name, while each of the three first had his peculiar title.

[a] There was scarcely any Athenian at all employed in public business, but had some sort of jurisdiction annexed to his office. Inferior suits and controversies were thus multiplied, and found perpetual employment for this lively meddling people: who were trained from their youth, and constantly exercised in the arts of managing and conducting suits at law. This was their favourite employment, and became the characteristic mark of an Athenian. "I saw, saith Lucian, (in *Icaro-Menip.*) the Egyptian tilling his "ground, the Phœnician at his traffic, the Cilician robbing, the "Spartan under the lash, and the ATHENIAN at his *law-suit*."—And this suggests the real value of that compliment which Virgil is

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titled to this privilege.—What then doth the law direct? That all such should assume, not their COMMISSION, but their MAGISTRACY, having first been judicially approved: (for even the magistrates appointed by lot are not exempted from this previous inquiry, but must be first approved before they assume their office.) These are also directed by the law to submit the accounts of their administration to the legal officers, as well as every other magistrate. And for the truth of what I now advance, to the laws themselves do I appeal.—Read—

The Laws.

HERE then you find that what these men call commissions or agencies, are declared to be magistracies. It is your part to bear this in memory, to oppose the law to their presumption; to convince them that you are not to be influenced by the wretched sophistical artifice, that would defeat the force of laws by words; and that the greater their address in defending their illegal proceedings, the more severely must they feel your resentment. For the public speaker should ever use the same language with the law. Should he at any time speak in one language, and the law pronounce another, to the

supposed to pay this people, in that well-known passage, *Orabunt causas melius*, &c. Critics have discovered in it *dishonesty, affected contempt* of eloquence, *invidious detraction* from the merit of Cicero, &c. And yet it seems to amount to no more than an acknowledgment of their superior skill, in legal forms and pleadings, and the arts of litigation.

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just authority of law should you grant your voices, not to the shameless presumption of the speaker.

To that argument on which Demosthenes relies, as utterly unanswerable, I would now briefly speak. —This man will say, "I am director of the fortifi- "cations. I confess it. But I have expended of "my own money, for the public service, an addi- "tional sum of one hundred minæ, and enlarged "the work beyond my instructions; for what then "am I to account? Unless a man is to be made "accountable for his own beneficence."—To this evasion you shall hear a just and good reply.—— In this city, of so ancient an establishment, and a circuit so extensive, there is not a man exempted from account, who has the smallest part in the affairs of state. This I shall show, first in instances scarcely credible. Thus, the priests and priestesses are by the laws obliged to account for the discharge of their office: all in general, and each in particular; although they have received no more than an honorary pension, and have had no other duty but of offering up their prayers for us to the gods. And this is not the case of single persons only, but of whole tribes, as the *Eumolpidæ*[a], the *Ceryces*, and all the others. Again, the trierarchs[b] are by the law made accountable for their conduct; although no public money hath been committed to their charge; although they have not embezzled large portions of

[a] *Eumolpidæ*, &c. Families (so called from their founders, Eumolpus and Ceryx) who had an hereditary right of priesthood.

[b] *The Trierarchs.* See note [b], Vol. i. p. 24, on Philip. I.

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their revenue, and accounted but for a small part; although they have not affected to confer bounties on you, while they really but restored your own property; no; they confessedly expended their paternal fortunes to approve their zealous affection for your service; and not our trierarchs alone, but the greatest assemblies in the state, are bound to submit to the sentence of our tribunals. First, the law directs, that the council of the Areopagus shall stand accountable to the proper officers, and submit their august transactions to a legal examination; thus our greatest judicial body stands in perpetual dependence upon your decisions. Shall the members of this council then be precluded from the honour of a crown?—Such has been the ordinance from times the most remote.—And have they have no regard to public honour?—So scrupulous is their regard, that it is not deemed sufficient that their conduct should not be notoriously criminal, their least irregularity is severely punished; a discipline too rigorous for our delicate orators. Again, our lawgiver directs, that the senate of five hundred shall be bound to account for their conduct; and so great diffidence doth he express of those who have not yet rendered such an account, that in the very beginning of the law it is ordained, "that no magis-"trate, who hath not yet passed through the ordi-"nary examination, shall be permitted to go "abroad."—But here a man may exclaim. "What! "In the name of heaven, am I, because I have "been in office, to be confined to the city?"—*Yes, and with good reason*; lest, when you have secreted

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the public money, and betrayed your trust, you might enjoy your perfidy by flight. Again, the laws forbid the man who hath not yet accounted to the state, to dedicate any part of his effects to religious purposes, to deposit any offering in a temple, to accept of an adoption into any family, to make any alienation of his property; and to many other instances is the prohibition extended. In one word, our lawgiver hath provided that the fortunes of such persons shall be secured as a pledge to the community, until their accounts are fairly examined and approved. Nay, farther, suppose there be a man who hath neither received nor expended any part of the public money, but hath only been concerned in some affairs relative to the state: even such a one is bound to submit his accounts to the proper officers. "But how can the man, who hath neither "received nor expended, pass such accounts?" The law hath obviated this difficulty, and expressly prescribed the form of his accounts. It directs that it shall consist of this declaration: "I have not re-"ceived, neither have I disposed of any public "money." To confirm the truth of this, hear the "laws themselves.

The Laws.

When Demosthenes therefore shall exult in his evasion, and insist that he is not to be accountable for the additional sum which he bestowed freely on the state, press him with this reply: "It was then "your duty, Demosthenes, to have permitted the

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" usual and legal proclamation to be made:
" WHO IS DISPOSED TO PROSECUTE? and to have
" given an opportunity to every citizen that pleased
" to have urged on his part, that you bestowed no
" such additional sum; but that, on the contrary,
" having been intrusted with ten talents for the re-
" pair of our fortifications, you really expended but
" a small part of this great sum. Do not assume
" an honour to which you have no pretensions; do
" not wrest their suffrages from your judges; do
" not act in presumptuous contempt of the laws,
" but with due submission yield to their guidance.
" Such is the conduct that must secure the freedom
" of our constitution."

As to the evasions on which these men rely, I trust that I have spoken sufficiently. That Demosthenes really stood accountable to the state, at the time when this man proposed his decree; that he 336
was really a magistrate, as manager of the theatrical funds; a magistrate, as inspector of the fortifications; that his conduct in either of these offices had not been examined, had not obtained the legal approbation, I shall now endeavour to demonstrate from the public records. Read, in whose archonship, in what month, on what day, in what assembly, Demosthenes was chosen into the office of manager of the theatrical funds. So shall it appear that, during the execution of this office, the decree was made, which conferred this crown upon him.—Read—

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The Computation of the Times.

If then I should here rest my cause, without proceeding farther, Ctesiphon must stand convicted; convicted, not by the arguments of his accuser, but by the public records. In former times, Athenians, it was the custom that the state should elect a comptroller, who, in every presidency of each tribe, was to return to the people an exact state of the finances. But by the implicit confidence which you reposed in Eubulus, the men who were chosen to the management of the theatrical money, executed this office of comptroller, (I mean before the law of Hegemon was enacted,) together with the offices of receiver, and of inspector of our naval affairs; they were charged with the building of our arsenals, with the repair of our roads; in a word, they were intrusted with the conduct of almost all our public business. I say not this to impeach their conduct, or to arraign their integrity; I mean but to convince you, that our laws have expressly directed, that no man yet accountable for his conduct in any one office, even of the smallest consequence, shall be entitled to the honour of a crown, until his accounts have been regularly examined and approved: and that Ctesiphon hath yet presumed to confer this honour on Demosthenes, when engaged in every kind of public magistracy. At the time of this decree, he was a magistrate as inspector of the fortifications, a magistrate as intrusted with public money, and, like other officers

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of the state, imposed fines, and presided in tribunals. These things I shall prove by the testimony of Demosthenes and Ctesiphon themselves. For, in the archonship of Chærondas, on the 2d of the month Thargelion, was a popular assembly held, in which Demosthenes obtained a decree, appointing a convention of the tribes on the 2d of the succeeding month; and on the third his decree directed still farther, that supervisors should be chosen, and treasurers, from each tribe, for conducting the repairs of our fortifications. And justly did he thus direct; that the public might have the security of good and responsible citizens, who might return a fair account of all disbursements.—Read these decrees.

The Decrees.

Yes. But you will hear it urged in answer, that to this office of inspector of the works he was not appointed in the general assembly, either by lot or suffrage. This is an argument on which Demosthenes and Ctesiphon will dwell with the utmost confidence. My answer shall be easy, plain, and brief; but first I would premise a few things on this subject. Observe, Athenians! Of magistracy there are three kinds. First, those appointed by lot or by election. Secondly, the men who have managed public money for more than thirty days, or have inspected public works. To these the law adds another species, and expressly declares, that all such persons as, in consequence of a regular ap-

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pointment, have enjoyed the right of jurisdiction, shall, when approved, be accounted magistrates. So that, should we take away the magistrates appointed by lot or suffrage, there yet remains the last kind, of those appointed by the tribes, or the thirds of tribes, or by particular districts, to manage public money; all which are declared to be magistrates from the time of their appointment. And this happens in cases like that before us, where it is a direction to the tribes to make canals, or to build ships of war. For the truth of this, I appeal to the laws themselves.—Read—

The Law.

Let it be remembered, that, as I have already observed, the sentence of the law is this, that all those appointed to any office by their tribes shall act as magistrates, when first judicially approved. But the Pandionian tribe hath made Demosthenes a magistrate, by appointing him an inspector of the works; and for this purpose he hath been intrusted with public money to the amount of near ten talents. Again, another law expressly forbids any magistrate, who yet stands accountable for his conduct to be honoured with a crown. You have sworn to give sentence according to the laws. Here is a speaker who hath brought in a decree for granting a crown to a man yet accountable for his conduct. Nor hath he added that saving clause, "when his "accounts have first been passed." I have proved the point of illegality from the testimony of your

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laws, from the testimony of your decrees, and from that of the opposite parties. How then can any man support a prosecution of this nature with greater force and clearness?

But farther, I shall now demonstrate that this decree is also a violation of the law, by the manner in which it directs that this crown shall be proclaimed. The laws declare, in terms the most explicit, that, if any man receives a crown from the senate, the proclamation shall be made in the senate-house; if by the people, in the assembly: never in any other place. Read this law.

The Law.

And this institution is just and excellent. The author of this law seems to have been persuaded, that a public speaker should not ostentatiously display his merits before foreigners; that he should be contented with the approbation of this city, of these his fellow-citizens; without practising vile arts to procure a public honour. So thought our lawgiver. What are the sentiments of Ctesiphon? Read his decree.

The Decree.

You have heard, Athenians, that the law directs, in every case where a crown is granted by the people, that the proclamation shall be made in presence of the people, in the Pnyx, in full assembly:

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never in any other place. Yet Ctesiphon hath appointed proclamation to be made in the theatre: not contented that the act itself should violate our laws, he hath presumed to change the scene of it. He confers this honour, not while the people are assembled, but while the new tragedies are exhibiting; not in the presence of the people, but of the Greeks; that they too may know on what kind of man our honours are conferred.

Great Dionysia

And now when the illegal nature of this decree is so incontestably established, the author, assisted by his confederate Demosthenes, hath yet recourse to subtleties, in order to evade the force of justice. These I must explain; I must so guard you against them, that you may not be surprised by their pernicious influence.—These men can by no means deny, that our laws expressly direct, that a crown conferred on any citizen by the people shall be proclaimed in the assembly, and in no other place. But, to defend their conduct, they produce a law relative to our festivals: of this they but quote a part, that they may more effectually deceive you: and thus recur to an ordinance by no means applicable to the case before us. Accordingly they will tell you, there are in this state two laws enacted relative to proclamations. One is, that which I have now produced, expressly forbidding the proclamation of a crown granted by the people to be issued in any other place but the assembly. The other, say they, is contrary to this: it allows the liberty of proclaiming a crown so conferred, in the theatre,

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when the tragedies are exhibited, PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT THE PEOPLE SHALL SO DETERMINE BY THEIR VOICES. On this law it is (thus will they plead) that CTESIPHON has founded his decree. To this artifice I shall oppose your own laws, my assistants[a], my constant reliance, through the whole course of this prosecution. If this be so; if such a custom hath been admitted into our government; that laws repealed are still allowed to hold their place amidst those in full force; that two, directly contradictory to each other, are enacted on the same subject; what shall we pronounce on that polity, where the laws command and forbid the very same things? But this is by no means the case; and never may your public acts be exposed to such disorder! The great law-giver to whom we owe our constitution, was not inattentive to guard against such dangers. It is his express direction, that, in every year, our body of laws shall be adjusted by the legal inspectors, in the popular assembly; and if, after due examination and inspection, it shall appear, that a law hath been enacted contradictory to a former law; or that any one, when repealed, shall still hold its place among those actually in force; or that any more than one have been enacted on the same subject; that, in all such cases, the laws shall be transcribed and fixed up in public on the statues

[a] *My assistants.* The strict import of the original expression is, *my council*, or *my advocate*. So that, by a bold figure, the Laws are represented, as personally present, supporting the cause of Æschines, pleading on his side, detecting the fallacy and prevarication of his adversary. TOURREIL.

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of our heroes; that the presidents shall convene the assembly, shall specify the authors of these several laws, and that the proper officer shall propose the question to the people, that they may by their voices repeal some, and establish others; that so one single law, and no more, may remain in force on one subject. To prove this,—Read the laws—

The Laws.

If then the allegations of these men were just; and that in reality there were two different laws relative to proclamations; it seems impossible but that the inspectors must have detected this; the presidents of the assembly must have returned them to their respective authors; and the one or other must have been repealed, either that which grants the power of proclaiming, or that which denies it. But since nothing of all this appears, these men must stand convicted of asserting what is not only false, but absolutely impossible.

The source, from whence they derive this falsehood, I shall here explain; when first I have premised, on what occasion these laws were enacted relative to proclamations in the theatre.——It hath been the custom in this city, during the performance of the tragedies, that certain persons made proclamation, not of an act ordained of the people, but some, of a crown conferred upon them by their tribe, or sometimes by their district; of others it was thus notified that they granted freedom to their

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slaves, to which they called on the Greeks as witnesses, and (which was the most invidious case) some persons, who had obtained the honours of hospitable reception in foreign states, used their interest to gain a proclamation, importing that such a community, as that of Rhodes for instance, or of Chios, conferred a crown upon them, on account of their virtue and magnanimity. And this they did, not as men honoured by the senate or by the people, in consequence of your concession, by virtue of your suffrage, and with a due acknowledgment of your favour, but merely on their own authority, without any decree of yours. By these means it happened, that the audience, and the managers, and the performers, were disturbed: and the men who obtained proclamations in the theatre, were really more honoured than those on whom the people conferred crowns. These had a place assigned for receiving these honours, the assembly; in no other place could proclamation be made: the others displayed their honours in the presence of all the Greeks. The one obtained their crowns from your decree, by your permission: the others, without any decree. One of our statesmen, observing this, established a law by no means interfering with that which respects persons crowned by the people; by no means tending to render this invalid: for it was not the assembly that was disturbed, but the theatre: nor was it his intention to contradict laws already established: our constitution forbids this. No; the law I mean solely regards those who are

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crowned, without a decree of the people, by their tribe or district; those who give freedom to their slaves; those who receive crowns from foreigners; and it expressly provides, that no person shall make their slaves free in the theatre; no persons shall be proclaimed as honoured with a crown by their tribe, by their district, or by any other people whatsoever, (these are the words of this law,) on pain of infamy to the herald who shall make such proclamation.

SINCE then it is provided, that those crowned by the senate shall be proclaimed in the senate-house, those by the people, in the assembly; since it is expressly forbidden that men crowned by their districts, or by their tribes, shall have proclamation made in the theatre; that no man may indulge an idle vanity, by public honours thus clandestinely procured, Since the law directs still farther, that no proclamation shall be made by any others, but by the senate, by the people, by the tribes, or by the districts respectively; if we deduct all these cases, what will remain but crowns conferred by foreigners? That I speak with truth, the law itself affords a powerful argument. It directs that the golden crown, conferred by proclamation in the theatre, shall be taken from the person thus honoured, and consecrated to Minerva. But who shall presume to impute so illiberal a procedure to the community of Athens? Can the state, or can a private person be suspected of a spirit so sordid, that, when they themselves have granted a crown,

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when it hath been just proclaimed, they should take it back again and dedicate it? No. I apprehend that such dedication is made, because the crown is conferred by foreigners, that no man, by valuing the affection of strangers at a higher rate than that of his country, may suffer corruption to steal into his heart. But when a crown hath been proclaimed in the assembly, is the person honoured bound to dedicate it? No, he is allowed to possess it; that not he alone, but his posterity may retain such a memorial in their family, and never suffer their affections to be alienated from their country. Hence hath the author of the law farther provided, that no proclamation shall be made in the theatre of any foreign crown, unless the people shall so direct by their decree; so the community, which is desirous of granting a crown to any of our citizens, may be obliged to send ambassadors and solicit your permission, and the person crowned shall owe less gratitude to those who confer this honour, than to you, by whose permission it is proclaimed. For the truth of this, consult the laws themselves.

The Laws.

When these men therefore insidiously alleged, that the law hath declared it allowable to confer a crown, by virtue of a decree of the assembly, remember to make this reply: "True; if such a "crown be offered by any other state; but if it be "the gift of the Athenian people, the place of con-"ferring it is determined. No proclamation is to

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"be made but in the assembly." Wrest and torture this clause, "AND IN NO OTHER PLACE "WHATEVER," to the utmost; still you can never prove that your decree hath not violated the laws.

49 THERE remains a part of this my accusation, on which I must enlarge with the greatest care; that which respects the pretence on which he hath pronounced this man worthy of the crown. These are the words of his decree: "AND THE HERALD "SHALL MAKE PROCLAMATION IN THE THE-"ATRE, IN PRESENCE OF THE GREEKS, THAT "THE COMMUNITY OF ATHENS HATH CROWNED "HIM, ON ACCOUNT OF HIS VIRTUE AND MAG-"NANIMITY; AND (what is still stronger) FOR "HIS CONSTANT AND INVIOLABLE ATTACHMENT "TO THE INTEREST OF THE STATE, THROUGH "THE COURSE OF ALL HIS COUNSELS AND AD-"MINISTRATION." And, from henceforward, I have but to lay before you a plain simple detail; such as can give you no trouble in forming your determination. For it is my part, as the prosecutor, to satisfy you in this single point, that the praises here bestowed on Demosthenes are false: that there never was a time in which he commenced faithful counsellor, far from persevering in any course of conduct advantageous to the state. If this be proved, Ctesiphon must at once stand justly condemned; for all our laws declare, that no man is to insert any falsehood in the public decrees. On the other hand, it is incumbent on the defend-

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ant to prove the contrary. You are to determine on our several allegations. Thus then I proceed.

To enter into a minute examination of the life of Demosthenes, I fear might lead me into a detail too tedious. And why should I insist on such points, as the circumstances of the indictment for his wound, brought before the Areopagus, against Demomeles his kinsman, and the gashes he inflicted on his own head? Or why should I speak of the expedition under Cephisodotus, and the sailing of our fleet to the Hellespont, when Demosthenes acted as a trierarch; entertained the admiral on board his ship; made him partaker of his table, of his sacrifices and religious rites; confessed his just right to all those instances of affection, as an hereditary friend; and yet, when an impeachment had been brought against him which affected his life, appeared as his accuser? Why, again, should I take notice of his affair with Midias; of the blows which he received in his office of director of the entertainments; or, how, for the sum of thirty minæ, he compounded this insult, as well as the sentence which the people pronounced against Midias in the theatre? These and the like particulars I determine to pass over; not that I would betray the cause of justice; not that I would recommend myself to favour by an affected tenderness, but lest it should be objected, that I produce facts true indeed, but long since acknowledged and notorious. Say then, Ctesiphon; when the most heinous instances of this man's baseness are so incontestably evident, that

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serve the very same method, which, as I am informed, he intends to use. I shall begin with speaking of his first period; then proceed to the second and the third in order; and conclude with observations on present affairs. To that peace then I now go back, of which you, Demosthenes and Philocrates, were the first movers.

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346 You had the fairest opportunity (Athenians) of concluding this first peace in conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks, had certain persons suffered you to wait the return of our ambassadors, at that time sent through Greece to invite the states to join in the general confederacy against Philip; and, in the progress of these negociations, the Greeks would have freely acknowledged you the leading state. Of these advantages were you deprived by Demosthenes and Philocrates, and by the bribes which they received in traitorous conspiracy against your government. If, at first view, this assertion should seem incredible to any in this tribunal, let such attend to what is now to be advanced, just as men set down to the accounts of money a long time since expended. We sometimes come from home, possessed with false opinions of the state of such accounts. But, when the several sums have been exactly collected, there is no man of a temper so obstinate as to dissemble, or to refuse his assent to the truth of that which the account itself exhibits. Hear me, in the present cause, with dispositions of the same kind. And if, with respect to past transactions, any one among you hath come

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hither possessed with an opinion, that Demosthenes never yet appeared as advocate for the interests of Philip, in dark confederacy with Philocrates; if any man, I say, be so persuaded, let him suspend his judgment, and neither assent nor deny, until he hath heard, (for justice requires this). And, if I shall obtain your attention to a brief recital of these periods, and to the decree which Demosthenes and Philocrates jointly proposed; if the fair state of truth itself shall convict Demosthenes of having proposed many decrees in concert with Philocrates, relative to the former peace and alliance; of having flattered Philip and his ambassadors with a most abandoned and shameful servility; of having precipitated our negociations without waiting the return of our deputies; and forced the people into a separate peace, without the concurrence of the general convention of the Greeks; of having betrayed Cersobleptes, king of Thrace, the friend and ally of this state, into the hands of Philip; if I shall clearly prove these points, I make but this reasonable request, that, in the name of Heaven, you would concur with me, that, during the first of these four periods, his administration hath been by no means excellent. I shall proceed in such a manner, that you may accompany me without any difficulty.

PHILOCRATES proposed a decree, by which Philip was admitted to send hither his heralds and ambassadors to treat about a peace and an alliance. This decree was accused as a violation of the law: the time of trial came: Lycinus, who had first moved

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for this trial, now appeared as prosecutor: Philocrates entered on his defence; in this he was assisted by Demosthenes; and Philocrates escaped. Then came the time in which Themistocles was archon. During his magistracy, Demosthenes obtains a seat in the senate, as a member of that body, without any immediate right, or any reversionary title, but by intrigue and bribery; and this in order to support Philocrates with all his power and interest, as the event itself discovered. For Philocrates prevailed still farther, so as to obtain another decree, by which it was resolved to choose ten deputies, who should repair to Philip, and require him to 346 send hither ambassadors, with full powers to conclude a peace. Of these Demosthenes was one. At his return to the city, he applauded the treaty; his report was exactly consonant with that of the other deputies; and he alone, of all the senators, moved, that we should proceed to a solemn ratification of the treaty with Philip's ministers.

THUS did he complete the work which Philocrates began. The one allows these ministers to repair to Athens; the other ratifies the negociation. —What I am now to observe, demands your utmost attention. Through the course of this treaty, the other deputies (who, upon a change of affairs,

* *Without any*, &c. *i. e.* Not chosen by lot into the office of a senator, nor appointed conditionally, to fill the place of another on whom the lot had fallen, but who might die, or whose character might not be approved, upon the scrutiny previously necessary to a citizen's entering into any public office or station.

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were exposed to all the malignity of Demosthenes) had scarcely any transactions with the ministers of Macedon. The great agents were Demosthenes and Philocrates, and with good reason; for they had not only acted as deputies, but had also been authors of the decrees which secured these important points; first, that you should not wait the return of the ambassadors, sent to unite the Greeks against Philip; that you should conclude this treaty separately, and not in conjunction with the Greeks: secondly, that you should resolve not only to conclude a peace, but an alliance with Philip; that, if any of the states preserved a regard for us, they might at once be confounded with despair, when, at the very time that you were prompting them to war, they found you not only concluding a peace, but entering into a strict alliance with the enemy: and, lastly, that Cersobleptes should be excluded from the treaty; that he should be denied a share in this alliance and this peace, at the very time when his kingdom was threatened with an immediate invasion.

The prince whose gold purchased those important points, is by no means to be accused. Before the treaty was concluded, and previously to his solemn engagements, we cannot impute it as a crime, that he pursued his own interests. But the men, who traitorously resigned into his hands the strength and security of the state, should justly feel the severest effects of your resentment. He then, who now declares himself the enemy of Alexander;

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Demosthenes, who, at that time was the enemy of Philip; he, who objects to me my connections of friendship with Alexander, proposed a decree utterly subversive of the regular and gradual course of public business, by which the magistrates were to convene an assembly on the eighth of the month Elaphebolion, a day destined to the sacrifices and religious ceremonies in honour of Æsculapius, when the rites were just preparing. And, what was the pretence for choosing this solemn festival, on which no assembly hath ever been remembered? "In "order, (saith he,) that, if ambassadors should "arrive from Macedon, the people may, as soon "as possible, deliberate on sending their deputies "to Philip." Thus, before the ambassadors had yet appeared, an assembly was secured to favour them; you were at once precluded from all the advantages which time might produce; and your transactions fatally precipitated, that you might conclude this treaty separately, not in conjunction with the Greeks, on the return of your ambassadors. After this, the ministers of Philip arrived at Athens; ours were still abroad, labouring to stir up the Greeks against Macedon. Then did Demosthenes obtain another Decree, by which it was resolved, that you should take into consideration, not only a peace, but an alliance; and this (without waiting for the return of your ambassadors) immediately after the festival of Bacchus, on the 18th day of the month. For the truth of this I appeal to the decrees.

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The Decrees.

AFTER these festivals, our assemblies were accordingly convened. In the first was the general resolution of our allies publicly read; the heads of which I shall here briefly recite. They, in the first place, resolved, that you should proceed to deliberate only about a peace. Of an alliance not one word was mentioned, and this not from inattention, but because they deemed even a peace itself rather necessary than honourable. In the next place, they wisely provided against the fatal consequences of the corruption of Demosthenes; for they expressly resolved still farther, that "it shall and may be "lawful for any of the Grecian states whatever, "within the space of three months, to accede in "due form to this treaty, to join in the same "solemn engagements, and to be included in the "same stipulations." Thus were two most important points secured. First, an interval of three months was provided for the Greeks, a time sufficient to prepare their deputations: and, then, the whole collected body of the nation stood well affected and attached to Athens; that, if at any time the treaty should be violated, we might not be involved in war single and unsupported. These resolutions are themselves the amplest testimony to the truth of my assertions.

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The Resolutions of the Allies.

To these resolutions, I confess that I gave my voice, as did all the speakers in the first assembly. And the people in general rose with a firm persuasion, that a peace indeed should be concluded; but that, as to an alliance, it would be most expedient to postpone the consideration of this, on account of the invitations sent through Greece, as this should be the act of the whole nation. Night intervened; and the next morning we were again assembled. But now Demosthenes had taken care to secure the gallery, and to exclude all those who might speak against his measures: he declared, that all the proceedings of the day before must be utterly ineffectual, unless the Macedonian ministers could be persuaded to concur; that he on his part, had no conception of a peace distinct from an alliance; we ought not, said he, (I well remember his expression, which the odiousness, both of the speaker and of the term itself, hath impressed deeply upon my mind,) we ought not to REND the alliance from the peace: we ought not to wait the dilatory proceedings of the Greeks; but at once determine either to support the war alone, or to make a separate peace. He concluded with calling up Antipater to the gallery; he proposed some questions to him which had been previously concerted between them, and to which he instructed him in such a reply, as might effectually defeat the interest of the state. Thus the deliberation ended, in the

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full establishment of those measures to which the importunity of Demosthenes extorted your consent, and which were confirmed in form by the decree of Philocrates.

NOTHING now remained, but to make an absolute resignation of Cersobleptes and the Thracian territories. And this they effected on the 26th of the same month, before that Demosthenes had proceeded on the second embassy appointed for the solemn ratification of the treaty. For this hater of Alexander, this foe to Philip, this your public speaker, went twice on an embassy to Macedon, although he needed not have once accepted of this charge: he who now urges you to spurn with contempt at the Macedonians, he, I say, having taken his place in the assembly, I mean, that which was convened on the 26th, he, whose intrigues procured him the dignity of a senator, betrayed Cersobleptes into the hands of Philip, with the assistance of his confederate Philocrates. For this Philocrates surreptitiously inserted in his decree, that decree which Demosthenes proposed in form, the following clause among many others; "that the several representa-
"tives of the allies shall be bound to enter into
"solemn ratifications of the peace with the mi-
"nisters of Philip ON THIS VERY DAY." But Cersobleptes had no representatives then present; and therefore he who moved that the representatives should then swear to the treaty, by direct consequence excluded Cersobleptes from the treaty, who had not been at all represented in this assembly.

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To prove the truth of this, read the authors of this decree, and the name of the president who proposed it.

The Decree.

THE PRESIDENT.

A NOBLE institution this, a truly noble institution, Athenians, this exact preservation of our public records. Thus they remain unalterable, and never change from one to the other party, with our variable politicians; but, whenever we are pleased to resort to them, afford us ample satisfaction as to the real characters of those who, after a long course of baseness, affect to be thought men of worth and excellence, on any change of circumstances.

76 IT remains, that I produce some instances of his abandoned flattery. For one whole year did Demosthenes enjoy the honour of a senator; and yet, in all that time, it never appears that he moved to grant precedency to any ministers: for the first, the only time he conferred this distinction on the ministers of Philip; he servilely attended to accommodate them with his cushions and his carpets; by the dawn of day he conducted them to the theatre; and, by his indecent and abandoned adulation, raised an universal uproar of derision. When they were on their departure towards Thebes, he hired three teams of mules, and conducted them in state into that city. Thus did he expose his country to

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ridicule. But, that I may confine myself to facts, read the decree relative to the grant of precedency.

The Decree.

And yet this[a] abject, this enormous flatterer, when he had been the first that received advice of

[a] *And yet this,* &c. The reader may not be displeased with the following account of this transaction from Plutarch, together with the reflections of the biographer.

"Demosthenes, having received private information of Philip's "death, in order to inspirit his countrymen, appeared in the se- "nate with an air of gaiety, pretending to have seen a vision, "which promised some good fortune to the Athenians. Imme- "diately after, arrives an express with a full account of this "event. The people in a transport of joy sacrifice to the gods, "for the good tidings, and decree a crown to Pausanias. On "this occasion Demosthenes appeared in public, with a chaplet "on his head, and in splendid attire, although it was but the "seventh day from the death of his daughter, as Æschines ob- "serves, who discovers his own want of firmness and elevation, "by reproaching him on this account as devoid of natural affec- "tion. As if tears and lamentations were the infallible signs of "tenderness and sensibility, he objects to him that he bore his "misfortune with composure. I do not say that it was right to "wear chaplets, and to offer sacrifices, upon the death of a prince "who has used his good fortune with so much moderation. It "was rather base and ungenerous to pay him honours, and enroll "him among their citizens, when alive; and, when he had been "killed, to break out into such extravagancies, to insult over "his dead body, and to sing hymns of joy, as if they themselves "had performed some great exploit. But I can by no means "condemn Demosthenes, for leaving it to the women to mourn "over the misfortunes of his family, and exerting himself in "what he deemed the service of his country upon this emer- "gency." Plut. in Vit. Demost.

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Philip's death, from the emissaries of Charidemus, pretended a divine vision, and, with a shameless lie, declared that this intelligence had been conveyed to him, not by Charidemus, but by Jupiter and Minerva. Thus he dared to boast, that these divinities by whom he had sworn falsely in the day, had condescended to hold communication with him in the night, and to inform him of futurity. Seven days had now scarcely elapsed, since the death of his daughter, when this wretch, before he had performed the usual rites of mourning, before he had duly paid her funeral honours, crowned his head with a chaplet, put on his white robe, made a solemn sacrifice in despite of law and decency; and this when he had lost his child, the first, the only child that had ever called him by the tender name of father. I say not this to insult his misfortunes; I mean but to display his real character. For he who hates his children, he who is a bad parent, cannot possibly prove a good minister. He who is insensible to that natural affection which should engage his heart to those who are most intimate and near to him, can never feel a greater regard to your welfare, than to that of strangers. He who acts wickedly in private life, cannot prove excellent in his public conduct; he who is base at home, can never acquit himself with honour when sent to a strange country in a public character. For it is not the man, but the scene that changes.

By what fortunate revolution he hath been enabled to assume a new character; (for I now come

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to the second period;) whence it is, that Philocrates, for the same conduct in which he was equally concerned, hath been impeached and condemned to exile, while Demosthenes supports his station, and maintains the power of impeaching others; and by what means this abandoned wretch hath been enabled to plunge you into such calamities; these are points which merit your peculiar attention. 346-340

When Philip, then, had possessed himself of Thermopylæ by surprise; when, contrary to all expectation, he had subverted the cities of the Phocians; when he had raised the state of Thebes to a degree of power too great (as we then thought) for the times, or for our interest; when we were in such consternation that our effects were all collected from the country, and deposited within these walls, the severest indignation was expressed against the deputies in general, who had been employed in the negociation of the peace, but principally, and above all others, against Philocrates and Demosthenes; because they had not only been concerned in the deputation, but were the first movers and authors of the decree for peace. It happened, at this juncture, that a difference arose between Demosthenes and Philocrates, nearly on the same occasion which you yourselves suspected must produce animosities between them. The ferment which arose from hence, together with the natural distemper of his mind, produced such counsels, as nothing but an abject terror could dictate, together with a malignant jealousy of the advantages which Philocrates

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derived from his corruption. He concluded, that by inveighing against his colleagues, and against Philip, Philocrates must inevitably fall; that the other deputies must be in danger; that he himself must gain reputation; and, notwithstanding his baseness and treachery to his friends, he must acquire the character of a consummate patriot. The enemies of our tranquillity perceived his designs; they at once invited him to the gallery, and extolled him as the only man who disdained to betray the public interest for a bribe. The moment he appeared, he kindled up the flame of war and confusion. He it was, Athenians, who first found out the Serrian fort, and Doriskum, and Ergiske, and Murgiske, and Ganos, and Ganides, places whose very names were hitherto utterly unknown; and such was his power in perverting and perplexing, that, if Philip declined to send his ministers to Athens, he represented it as a contemptuous insult on the state; if he did send them, they were spies, and not ministers; if he inclined to submit his disputes with us to some impartial mediating state, no equal umpire could be found, he said, between us and Philip. This prince gave us up the Halonesus. But he insisted that we should not receive it, unless it was declared, not that he *resigned*, but *restored*: thus cavilling about syllables. And, to crown all his conduct, by paying public honours to those who had carried their arms into Thessaly and Magnesia under the command of Aristodemus, in direct violation of the treaty, he dissolved the peace, and prepared the way for calamity and war.

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YES, but by the alliance of the Eubœans and the Thebans, did he (for thus he boasts) surround our city with walls of brass and adamant. But the truth is, Athenians, that in these transactions he committed no less than three most enormous offences, of which you are utterly uninformed. Although I am impatient to come to that grand article, the alliance of the Thebans, yet, for the sake of order, I must begin with that of the Eubœans.

YOU, my countrymen! had received many and great injuries from Mnesarchus the Chalcidian, the father of Callias and Taurosthenes (the man whom he hath now presumed, for the sake of a wretched bribe, to enroll among the citizens of Athens,) and also from Themisan the Eretrian, who, in time of profound peace, wrested Oropus from you. Yet you consented to bury all this in oblivion; and, when the Thebans had invaded Eubœa, in order to enslave the cities, within five days, you appeared in their defence, with a powerful armament; and, before thirty days had yet elapsed, you obliged the Thebans to capitulate, and to evacuate the island. Thus absolute masters of Eubœa, you reinstated its cities and communities in all their privileges; you generously and equitably relied on their faith, and thought it highly unjust to retain the memory of ancient animosities, when they implicitly resigned themselves to your honour. Yet to these important obligations the people of Chalcis did by no means make the due returns. On the contrary, when you had passed into Eubœa, to assist Plutarch, at first

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indeed you were received with all the appearances of friendship; but when once we had advanced beyond Tamynas, and passed the eminence named Cotylæum, Callias now perceiving that we had encamped in a dangerous situation, from whence it was impossible to disengage ourselves but by a victory, and where we could receive no reinforcement either by sea or land; this Callias, I say, on whom Demosthenes, having received his bribes, so freely lavishes his applause, collected an army from all quarters of Eubœa, which he reinforced with a detachment sent in by Philip: while his brother Taurosthenes, he who so graciously salutes and smiles upon every citizen, brought down his band of mercenaries from Phocis, and both advanced with a firm purpose to destroy us. And, had not some deity graciously interposed to save our army, and had not all our forces, both infantry and cavalry, performed extraordinary acts of valour at the Hippodrome of Tamynas, and after a complete victory obliged the enemy to lay down their arms, the state must have been exposed to a defeat the most disgraceful. For a defeat is not of itself the greatest of calamities: but, when that defeat is the consequence of an engagement with dishonourable enemies, then the calamity is doubled.

Yet, notwithstanding this treatment, you were again reconciled to these people. And Callias, now restored to your favour, preserved appearances for a little time, but soon returned with extraordinary violence to his natural dispositions. His pretence

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was, to form a convention of the Euboean states at Chalcis; his real design to fortify the island against us, and to secure to himself a sovereignty of peculiar importance. And, hoping to prevail on Philip to assist him in this design, he went over to Macedon; was constantly in Philip's train, and came to be regarded as one of those who are styled his companions. But, having forfeited this prince's favour by his offences, he was obliged to fly; and, having rendered himself obnoxious at Thebes, he retired from that city also; and thus his course of conduct, more uncertain and variable than the Euripus that flows by his native habitation, involved him in the resentment both of the Thebans and of Philip. In the midst of his confusion and perplexity, when an army was actually preparing to march against him, he saw but one resource left, and this was to prevail on the Athenians, by acknowledging him as their confederate, to enter into solemn engagements to defend him, if attacked by any enemy: and it was evident he must be attacked, unless you were to prevent it. Possessed with this design, he sent hither his deputies, Glaucetes, Empedon, and Diodorus, so distinguished in the race[a], who came,

[a] *In the race.* In the original, *the runner in the long race.* And, whatever air of ridicule the speaker affects to throw upon this accomplishment, the foot-race, it is well known, held a distinguished rank among the athletic exercises of Greece. The common course was a stadium, or 625 feet. Sometimes the racers returned back again, performing what was called διαυλος, or the *double course.* But the δολιχόδρομος (as Diodorus is here styled) was the man who could continue his career for twelve stadia or more.

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with airy hopes, for the people, but with money for Demosthenes and his associates. And three material points there were, for all of which he then bargained: first, that he should not be disappointed of our alliance; for if the Athenians were to remember his former offences, and to reject him as a confederate, he had but one melancholy alternative, either to fly from Chalcis, or to suffer himself to be taken and put to death: with such formidable powers were both Philip and the Thebans now preparing to surround him. In the second place, the manager and mover of this alliance was to contrive (and for this gold was liberally bestowed) that the Chalcidians should not be obliged to attend the convention held at Athens. The third point was, that they should be excused from paying their contributions. Nor was Callias defeated in any one of these schemes. [a]No. This Demosthenes, this foe to tyrants, as he calls himself, this man whom Ctesiphon declares a faithful minister, betrayed the most critical interests of the state, and by his decree obliged us to take up arms, on every occasion, in defence of the Chalcidians. This was the purport, though not the formal style of the decree: to secure his point in the most delicate and least offensive manner, he artfully changed a single phrase, and ordained that the Chalcidians should take up arms, if on any occasion the Athenians should be attacked. But as to the acknowledgement of our superiority in the general convention, as to obliging the con-

[a] See History of the Life of Philip, book iv. sect. 2.

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federates to pay their subsidies, the great support of war; these articles he entirely gave up: he who disguises the basest actions by the most honourable names: whose importunity obliged you to declare, that you were resolved to send assistance to any of the Greeks that needed it: but that you must suspend all farther engagements of alliance; which should be formed only with those whose good offices you at first had experienced. To prove the truth of my assertions, I produce the instrument of Callias, the treaty of alliance, and the decree.

The Decree.

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Nor is it his most heinous offence, that he hath sold our interests, our rights of precedency, and our subsidies; what I have now to produce must be acknowledged still more enormous. For to such a pitch of insolence and extravagance did Callias proceed, and to such sordid corruption did Demosthenes descend, he whom Ctesiphon hath thus applauded, that they contrived, in your presence, in your view, in the midst of your attention, to defraud you of the contributions from Oreum, and of those from Eretria, to the amount of ten talents. And, when the representatives of these states had appeared in Athens, they sent them back to Chalcis, to assist in what was called the convention of Eubœa. By what means, and by what iniquitous practices, they effected this, will deserve your serious regard.

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I AM then to inform you, that Callias was now no longer satisfied to negociate with us by his emissaries: he appeared in person: he rose up and addressed himself to the assembly, in a speech concerted by Demosthenes. He told us, that he was just arrived from Peloponnesus, where he had been lately employed in settling the subsidies which each city was to pay, in order to support a war against Philip; the whole amounting to an hundred talents. He distinguished the sums to be paid by each state. The contributions of all the Achæans and Megaræans he rated at sixty, those of the cities of Eubœa at forty talents, a sum, as he observed, sufficient to maintain a formidable armament, both by sea and land. Many other Grecian states were ready to join in this supply, so that there would be no deficiency either in money or in forces. These were the effects of his public negociations: but he had besides carried on some secret transactions which were not to be explained: of these some of our own citizens were witnesses: and then he called on Demosthenes by name, and required him to confirm this by his testimony. With a face of gravity and importance, Demosthenes then arose; bestowed the most extravagant applause on Callias; and pretended to be well acquainted with his secret transactions. He declared himself ready to report the success of his own embassy to Peloponnesus, and of that to Acarnania. The sum of all was this, that, by his means, the whole body of the Peloponnesians, and all the Acarnanians were ready to

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march against Philip: that the amount of their several contributions would be sufficient to complete an armament of one hundred ships of war, ten thousand infantry, and one thousand horse: that to these were to be added the domestic forces of each state; from Peloponnesus more than two thousand heavy-armed foot, and from Acarnania the same number; that all these states had freely resigned the chief command to you; and that their preparations were not fixed to some distant time, but were to be completed by the 16th of the month Anthesterion, as, by his direction and appointment, the states were to hold their convention at Athens, at the time of full moon. For in these cases the man acts a distinguished and peculiar part. Other boasters, when they advance their falsehoods, are careful to express themselves in vague and obscure terms, from a just dread of being detected. But Demosthenes, when he would obtrude his impostures, first adds an oath to his lie, and imprecates all the vengeance of heaven on his own head. And then, if he is to assure us of events, which he knows will never be, he has the hardiness to assign their particular times; if to persuade us that he has negotiated with those he never saw, he enters into a distinct detail of their names; thus insinuating himself into your confidence, and imitating the natural and explicit manner of those who speak truth: so that he is doubly an object of detestation, as he is base and false, and as he would confound all the marks of truth and honesty.

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WHEN he had finished, he presented a decree to the secretary, longer than the Iliad, more frivolous than the speeches which he usually delivers, or than the life which he hath led; filled with hopes never to be gratified, and with armaments never to be raised. And while he diverted your attention from his fraud, while he kept you in suspense by his flattering assurances, he seized the favourable moment to make his grand attack, and moved, that ambassadors should be sent to Eretria, who should entreat the Eretrians (because such entreaties were mighty necessary) not to send their contribution of five talents to Athens, but to intrust it to Callias: again he ordained, that ambassadors should be appointed to repair to Oreum, and to prevail on that state to unite with Athens in strict confederacy. And now it appeared, that through this whole transaction he had been influenced by a traitorous motive: for these ambassadors were directed to solicit the people of Oreum also, to pay their five talents, not to you, but to Callias. To prove the truth of this, read the decree,—not all the pompous preamble, the magnificent account of navies, the parade and ostentation; but confine yourself to the point of fraud and circumvention, which were practised with too much success by this impious and abandoned wretch, whom the decree of Ctesiphon declares to have persevered, through the course of all his public conduct, in an inviolable attachment to the state.

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The Decree.

HERE is a grand account of ships and of levies, of the full moon, and of conventions. Thus were you amused by words; while, in fact, you lost the contributions of your allies, you were defrauded of ten talents.

IT remains that I inform you of the real motive which prompted Demosthenes to procure this decree; and that was a bribe of three talents; one received from Chalcis by the hands of Callias; another from Eretria by Clitarchus the sovereign of this state; the third paid by Oreum: by which means the stipulation was discovered; for, as Oreum is a free state, all things are there transacted by a public decree. And as the people of this city had been quite exhausted in the war with Philip, and reduced to the utmost indigence, they sent over Gnosidemus, who had once been their sovereign, to entreat Demosthenes to remit the talent; promising on this condition, to honour him with a statue of bronze, to be erected in their city. He answered their deputy, that he had not the least occasion for their paltry brass; that he insisted on his stipulation; which Callias should prosecute. The people of Oreum, thus pressed by their creditor, and not prepared to satisfy him, mortgaged their public revenues to Demosthenes for this talent, and paid him interest at the rate of one drachma[a] a month,

[a] *At the rate of one drachma*, &c. *i. e.* at the rate of about twelve *per cent. per ann.* See Life of Philip, b. iv. sect. 2.

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for each mina, until they were enabled to discharge the principal. And, to prove this, I produce the decree of the Oreitans. Read—

The Decree.

HERE is a decree, Athenians, scandalous to our country. It is no small indication of the general conduct of Demosthenes, and it is an evidence of the most flagrant kind, which must condemn Ctesiphon at once. For it is not possible, that he who hath descended to such sordid bribery, can be that man of consummate virtue, which Ctesiphon hath presumed to represent him in his decree.

[a]AND now I proceed to the third of these periods; which was indeed the fatal period, distinguished by the calamities in which Demosthenes involved all Greece as well as his own city, by his impious profanation of the Delphian temple, and by the iniquitous and oppressive treaty in which he engaged us with the Thebans. But first I must speak of his offences towards the gods.

THERE is a plain, Athenians, well known by the name of Cyrrha, and a port, now called the *devoted* and *accursed*. This tract the Cyrrhæans and Acra-

[a] The reader will find a detail of this whole important transaction, and of its momentous consequences on the interests of Greece, in the fifth book and first section of the history above-mentioned.

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gallidæ inhabited, a lawless people, whose sacrilegious violence profaned the shrine of Delphi and the offerings there deposited, and who presumed to rebel against the Amphictyonic council. The Amphictyons in general, and your ancestors in particular, (as tradition hath informed us,) conceived the justest resentment, and addressed themselves to the oracle, in order to be informed by what punishment they might suppress these outrages. The priestess pronounced her answer, that they were to wage perpetual war against the Cyrrhæans and Acragallidæ, without the least intermission, either by day or night; that they were to lay waste their lands, and to reduce their persons to slavery; that their possessions were to be set apart from all worldly purposes, and dedicated to the Pythian Apollo, to Diana, to Latona, and to Minerva; and that they were not to cultivate their lands, nor to suffer them to be cultivated. In consequence of this oracle, the Amphictyons decreed, and Solon the Athenian was the first mover of this decree (the man so eminent for making laws, and so conversant in the arts of poesy and philosophy) that they should take up arms against these impious men, in obedience to the divine commands of the oracle. A sufficient force being accordingly raised by the Amphictyons, they reduced these men to slavery, demolished their harbour, razed their city, and consecrated their district, as the oracle directed. And, to confirm these proceedings, they bound themselves by an oath, that they would never cultivate this consecrated land, nor suffer others to cultivate it; but that they

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would support the rights of the god, and defend this district thus consecrated, with their persons and all their power. Nor were they contented to bind themselves by an oath conceived in the usual form; they enforced it by the addition of a most tremendous imprecation. Thus it was expressed: "If "any shall violate this engagement, whether city "or private person, or community, may such vio- "laters be devoted to the vengeance of Apollo, of "Diana, of Latona, and of Minerva: may their "lands never yield their fruits; may their women "never bring forth children of the human form, "but hideous monsters; may their herds be ac- "cursed with unnatural barrenness; may all their "attempts in war, all their transactions in peace, "be ever unsuccessful! may total ruin for ever pur- "sue them, their families, and their descendants! "and may they never (these are the very terms) "appease the offended deities, either Apollo, or "Diana, or Latona, or Minerva: but may all their "sacrifices be for ever rejected!" To confirm the truth of this, let the oracle be read: listen to the imprecations, and recall to mind the oath by which your ancestors were engaged, in conjunction with the other Amphictyons.

The Oracle.

Still shall these tow'rs their ancient pride maintain;
Nor force, nor valour, e'er that rampart gain;
'Till Amphitritè, queen of azure waves,
The hallow'd lands of sovereign Phœbus laves;
'Till, round his seat, her threat'ning surges roar,
And burst tumult'ous on the sacred shore.

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The Oath.

THE IMPRECATION.

YET, notwithstanding these imprecations, notwithstanding the solemn oath, and the oracle, which to this day remain upon record, did the Locrians and the Amphissæans, or, to speak more properly, their magistrates, lawless and abandoned men, once more cultivate this district, restore the devoted and accursed harbour, erect buildings there, exact taxes from all ships that put into this harbour, and, by their bribes, corrupt some of the pylagoræ who had been sent to Delphi, of which number Demosthenes was one. For, for being chosen into this office, he received a thousand drachmæ from the Amphissæans, to take no notice of their transactions, in the Amphictyonic council. And it was stipulated still farther, that, for the time to come, they should pay him at Athens an annual sum of twenty minæ, out of their accursed and devoted revenues; for which he was to use his utmost efforts, on every occasion, to support the interest of the Amphissæans in this city. A transaction which served but to give still farther evidence to this melancholy truth, that, whenever he hath formed connections with any people, any private persons, any sovereign magistrates, or any free communities, he hath never failed to involve them in calamities the most deplorable. For, now, behold how heaven and

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fortune asserted their superior power against this impiety of the Amphissæans!

339 In the archonship of Theophrastus, when Diognetus was iëromnemon, you chose, for pylagoræ, Midias, (that man who, on many accounts, I wish were still alive,) and Thrasycles; and with these was I joined in commission. On our arrival at Delphi, it happened, that the iëromnemon, Diognetus, was instantly seized with a fever, and that Midias also shared the same misfortune. The other
340. Amphictyons assembled: when some persons, who wished to approve themselves the zealous friends of this state, informed us, that the Amphissæans, now exposed to the power of the Thebans, and studious to pay them the most servile adulation, had introduced a decree against this city, by which a fine of fifty talents was to be imposed on the community of Athens, because we had deposited some golden shields in the new temple, before it had been completely finished, which bore the following, and a very just, inscription:

BY THE ATHENIANS: TAKEN FROM THE MEDES AND THEBANS, WHEN THEY FOUGHT AGAINST THE GREEKS.

THE iëromnemon sent for me, and desired that I should repair to the Amphictyons, and speak in defence of the city, which I had myself determined to do. But, scarcely had I begun to speak, on my first appearance in the assembly, (where I rose with

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some warmth, as the absence of the other deputies increased my solicitude,) when I was interrupted by the clamours of an Amphissæan, a man of outrageous insolence, who seemed a total stranger to politeness, and was perhaps driven to this extravagance by some evil genius. He began thus:—"Ye "Greeks, were ye possessed with the least degree "of wisdom, ye would not suffer the name of the "Athenians to be mentioned at this time; ye would "drive them from the temple, as the objects of di-"vine wrath." He then proceeded to take notice of our alliance with the Phocians, which the decree of Crobylus had formed, and loaded the state with many other odious imputations, which I then could not hear with temper, and which I cannot now recollect but with pain. His speech inflamed me to a degree of passion, greater than I had ever felt through my whole life. Among other particulars, on which I shall not now enlarge, it occurred to me to take notice of the impiety of the Amphissæans, with respect to the consecrated land, which I pointed out to the Amphictyons from the place where I then stood, as the temple rose above the Cyrrhæan plain, and commanded the whole prospect of that district. "You see, (said I,) ye Amphictyons, how this tract "hath been occupied by the people of Amphissa: "you see the houses and factories they have "there erected. Your own eyes are witnesses, "that this accursed and devoted harbour is com-"pletely furnished with buildings. You yourselves "know, and need not any testimony, that they have "exacted duties, and raised large sums of wealth

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" from this harbour." I then produced the oracle, the oath of our ancestors, and the imprecation by which it was confirmed; and made a solemn declaration, that, " for the people of Athens, for myself, " for my children, and for my family, I would sup- " port the rights of the god, and maintain the con- " secrated land, with all my might and power; " and thus rescue my country from the guilt of " sacrilege. Do you, ye Greeks," thus did I proceed, " determine for yourselves as ye judge proper. " Your sacred rites are now prepared; your vic- " tims stand before the altars; you are ready to offer " up your solemn prayers for blessings on your- " selves and on your countries;—but, O! consider " with what voice, with what front, with what " confidence, can you breathe out your petitions, " if ye suffer these sacrilegious men, thus devoted " and accursed, to escape with impunity. The im- " precation is not conceived in dark or doubtful " terms. No: the curse extends not only to these " impious profaners, but to all those who suffer " their profanation to pass unrevenged. These are " the very words with which the awful and affec- " ting form is closed: May they, who permit them " to escape unpunished, never offer up an accep- " table sacrifice to Apollo, or to Diana, or to La- " tona, or to Minerva; but may all their devotions " be rejected and abhorred."

When I had urged these and many other particulars, I retired from the assembly: when a considerable clamour and tumult arose among the Am-

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phictyons, and the debate was now no longer about the shields which we had dedicated, but about the punishment due to the Amphissæans. Thus was a considerable part of that day wasted, when at length a herald arose, and made proclamation, That all the inhabitants of Delphi, above the age of sixteen, both slaves and freemen, should the next morning, by sun-rise, assemble in the adjoining plain, called *the plain of victims*, with spades and mattocks; and by another proclamation it was ordained, that the representatives of the several states should repair to the same place, to support the rights of the god, and the consecrated land; and that, if any representatives should disobey this summons, their state was to be excluded from the temple, as sharing in the sacrilege, and involved in the imprecation. The next day we accordingly repaired to the place appointed, from whence we went down to the Cyrrhæan plain; and, having there demolished the harbour, and set fire to the buildings, we retired. During these transactions, the Locrians of Amphissa, who are settled at the distance of sixty stadia from Delphi, assembled in arms, and fell upon us with their whole force; and, had we not with difficulty gained the town, by a precipitate flight, we must have been in danger of total destruction. On the succeeding day, Cattyphus, who acted as president of the council, summoned a *convention* of the Amphictyons; so they call an assembly formed not only of the representatives, but of all who came to offer sacrifice, or consult the oracle. In this convention, many accusations were urged against the Am-

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phissæans, and much applause bestowed on our state. The whole debate was closed with a resolution, by which the iëromnemons were directed to repair to Thermopylæ, at a time appointed, previously to the next ordinary assembly, with a decree prepared for inflicting the due punishment on the Amphissæans, for their sacrilegious offences against the god, and the consecrated land, and for their outrage on the Amphictyons. To prove the truth of this, I produce the resolution itself.

The Resolution.

125 And when at our return we reported this resolution, first in the senate, and then in the assembly of the people; when we had made a full relation of all our transactions to the people, and the whole state determined to act agreeably to the dictates of piety; when Demosthenes, from his private connexions with Amphissa, laboured to defeat this purpose, and his iniquitous practices were by me clearly detected, in your presence; when he found it impossible to defeat the interests of his country, by a public opposition, he had recourse to secret management in the senate. There, having first taken care to exclude all private citizens, he gained a resolution (by taking advantage of his inexperience who moved it) which he produced to the popular assembly; and this resolution he contrived to be confirmed by the voices of the people, and to be made their decree, at a time when the assembly was actually adjourned, when I was absent, (else I

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never should have suffered it,) and when the people were dismissed from their attendance. The purport of the resolution was this: "That the iëromnemon and pylagoræ who should at any time be "deputed by the Athenians to execute these offices, "should repair to Thermopylæ and to Delphi, at "the times appointed by our ancestors."—This was speciously expressed, but it concealed the basest purpose, which was, to prevent our deputies from attending the extraordinary council at Thermopylæ, necessary to be held before the next stated day of assembly.

But there was another clause in this resolution, still plainer and more virulent. It directed, that the iëromnemon and pylagoræ, who should, at any time, be appointed by the Athenians, were to have no sort of intercourse with this extraordinary council, either in word, or deed, or decree, or any transaction whatever. "To have no sort of intercourse." What is the intent of this? Shall I declare the truth, or shall I speak to please you? The truth by all means: for, by consulting only your gratification, in all that is here delivered, hath the state been reduced to its present condition. The real purpose, therefore, of this clause is, that we should renounce all regard to the oath by which our ancestors were engaged; to the awful imprecation, and to the oracles of the god.

Agreeably to this resolution, we staid at home, while all the other deputies assembled at Ther-

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mopylæ, except those of one people, whose name I cannot bear to mention; (and never may any Grecian state suffer calamities in the least like theirs!) In this assembly, it was resolved to undertake a war against the Amphissæans; and Cattyphus the Pharsalian, who then presided in the assembly, was appointed general. Nor was Philip, at this time, in Macedon, no, nor in any part of Greece, but removed as far as Scythia: he who, Demosthenes presumes to say, was by me brought down upon the Greeks. In the first expedition, when the Amphissæans were at their mercy, they treated them with the utmost moderation; and, for their most heinous offences, they only imposed a fine, which was to be paid to the god by a time appointed; removed the most notoriously criminal, and principal authors of the sacrilege; and restored those who had been banished on account of their scrupulous regard to religion. But, when this fine was not discharged; when the principal offenders were recalled home; and the innocent and religious men, whom the Amphictyons had restored, were once more expelled; then was the second expedition made against the Amphissæans, a considerable time after, when Philip was on his return from the Scythian expedition. And now, when the gods presented you with the sovereign command in this holy war, by the corruption of Demosthenes were you deprived of that honour.

And, did not the gods warn us of our danger? did they not urge the necessity of vigilance, in a

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language scarcely less explicit than that of man? Surely never was a state more evidently protected by the gods, and more notoriously ruined by its popular leaders. Were we not sufficiently alarmed by that portentous incident in the mysteries, the sudden death of the initiated? Did not Amyniades still farther warn us of our danger, and urge us to send deputies to Delphi to consult the god? And did not Demosthenes oppose this design? Did he not say, the Pythian priestess was inspired[a] by Philip, rude and brutal as he is, insolently presuming on that full power to which your favour raised him? And did he not at last, without one propitious sacrifice, one favourable omen to assure us of success, send out our armies to manifest and inevitable danger? Yet, he lately presumed to say, that Philip did not venture to march into our territories, for this very reason, because his sacrifices had not been propitious. What punishment, therefore, is due to thy offences, thou pest of Greece? If the conqueror was prevented from invading the territories of the vanquished by unpropitious sacrifices, shouldst thou, who, without the least attention to futurity, without one favourable omen, has sent our armies to the field, shouldst thou be honoured with a crown for those calamities, in which thou hast involved the state, or driven from our borders with ignominy?

[a] *Was inspired*, &c. Demosthenes expressed this by an artificial phrase, (the priestess PHILIPPIZED,) on which the adversary founds his charge of rudeness and brutality.

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132 And, what can be conceived surprising or extraordinary, that we have not experienced? Our lives have not passed in the usual and natural course of human affairs; no, we were born to be an object of astonishment to posterity. Do we not see the king of Persia, he who opened a passage for his navy through mount Athos, who stretched his bridge across the Hellespont, who demanded earth and water from the Greeks; he who, in his letters, presumed to style himself sovereign of mankind, from the rising to the setting sun; now no longer contending to be lord over others, but to secure his personal safety? Do not we see those crowned with honour, and ennobled with the command of the war against Persia, who rescued the Delphian temple from sacrilegious hands? Hath not Thebes, our neighbouring state, been in one day torn from the
335 midst of Greece? And, although this calamity may justly be imputed to her own pernicious counsels, yet we are not to ascribe such infatuation to any natural causes, but to the fatal influence of some evil genius. Are not the Lacedemonians, those wretched men, who had but once slightly interfered in the sacrilegious outrage on the temple, who, in their day of power, aspired to the sovereignty of Greece, now reduced to display their wretchedness to the world, by sending hostages to Alexander, ready to submit to that fate, which he shall pronounce upon themselves and on their country; to those terms which a conqueror, and an incensed conqueror, shall vouchsafe to grant? And, is not

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this our state the common refuge of the Greeks, once the great resort of all the ambassadors from the several cities, sent to implore our protection, as their sure resource, now obliged to contend, not for sovereign authority, but for our native land? And, to these circumstances have we been gradually reduced, from that time when Demosthenes first assumed the administration. Well doth the poet Hesiod pronounce on such men, in one part of his works, where he points out the duty of citizens, and warns all societies to guard effectually against evil ministers. I shall repeat his words; for I presume we treasured up the sayings of poets in our memory when young, that, in our riper years, we might apply them to advantage.

When one man's crimes the wrath of Heav'n provoke,
Oft hath a nation felt the fatal stroke.
Contagion's blast destroys at Jove's command,
And wasteful famine desolates the land.
Or, in the field of war, her boasted pow'rs
Are lost; and earth receives her prostrate tow'rs.
In vain in gorgeous state her navies ride;
Dash'd, wreck'd, and bury'd in the boist'rous tide.

TAKE away the measure of these verses, consider only the sentiment, and you will fancy that you hear, not some part of Hesiod, but a prophecy of the administration of Demosthenes; for true it is, that both fleets and armies, and whole cities, have been completely destroyed by his administration: and, in my opinion, neither Phryrondas, nor Eurybatus, nor any of those most distinguished by their

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villanies in former times, have been equal to this man in the arts of imposture and deceit: this man, who, (hear it O earth, hear it all ye gods, and all of human race who have the least regard to truth!) dares to meet the eyes of his fellow-citizens, and shamelessly assert, that the Thebans were induced
339 to the confederacy with us, not by the conjuncture of their affairs, not by the terror which possessed them, nor yet by our reputation; but by the negoci-
136 ations of Demosthenes. True it is, that before this time we sent many ambassadors to Thebes, all of them united with that state in the strictest connections. First we sent our general Thrasybulus, a man highest above all others in the confidence of the Thebans: after him, Thraso, on whom the Thebans conferred the honours of hospitality: then again, Leodamas, nothing inferior to Demosthenes in the powers of eloquence, and in my opinion a much more pleasing speaker: Archidemus, another powerful speaker, whose attachment to Thebes had exposed him to considerable danger: Aristophon, the popular leader, who had long incurred the censure of being in his heart a Bœotian. Add to these, Pyrandrus, the public speaker, who is yet alive. And yet not one of these was ever able to prevail on them to unite in alliance with our state. I know the cause: but I must not insult their calamities.—The truth is, (as I conceive) that when Philip had wrested Nicæa from them, and delivered it to the Thessalians; when he had transferred the war from Phocis to the very walls of Thebes, that war which he had before repelled from the terri-

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tories of Bœotia; and when, to crown all, he had seized, and fortified, and fixed his garrison in Elatæa, then did their fears of approaching ruin force them to apply to Athens: and then did you march out and appear at Thebes, with all your power, both of infantry and cavalry, before Demosthenes had ever proposed one syllable about an alliance. For it was the times, present terror, and the necessity of uniting with you, which then brought you to Thebes; not Demosthenes.

And let it be observed, that in these his negociations he committed three capital offences against the state. In the first place, when Philip made war on us, only in name, but in reality pointed all his resentment against Thebes, (as appears sufficiently from the event, and needs not any farther evidence,) he insidiously concealed this, of which it so highly concerned us to be informed; and pretending that the alliance now proposed was not the effect of the present conjuncture, but of his negociations, he first prevailed on the people not to debate about conditions, but to be satisfied that the alliance was formed on any terms: and, having secured this point, he gave up all Bœotia to the power of Thebes, by inserting this clause in the decree, that, if any city should revolt from the Thebans, the Athenians would grant their assistance to such of the Bœotians only as should be resident in Thebes: thus concealing his fraudulent designs in specious terms, and betraying us into his real purposes, according to his usual practice: as if the Bœotians,

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who had really laboured under the most grievous oppression, were to be fully satisfied with the fine periods of Demosthenes, and to forget all resentment of the wrongs which they had suffered.——Then, as to the expenses of the war, two thirds of these he imposed on us who were the farthest removed from danger, and one third only on the Thebans; for which, as well as all his other measures, he was amply bribed. And, with respect to the command, that of the fleet he indeed divided between us; the expense he imposed entirely on Athens, and that of the land forces (if I am to speak seriously, I must insist upon it) he absolutely transferred to the Thebans: so that, during this whole war, our general Stratocles had not so much authority as might enable him to provide for the security of his soldiers. And here I do not urge offences too trivial for the regard of other men. No. I speak them freely; all mankind condemns them; and you yourselves are conscious of them; yet will not be roused to resentment. For so completely hath Demosthenes habituated you to his offences, that you now hear them without emotion or surprise. But this should not be: they should excite your inmost indignation, and meet their just punishment, if you would preserve those remains of fortune which are still left to Athens.

A SECOND and a much more grievous offence did he commit, in clandestinely taking away all authority of our senate, all the jurisdiction of our popular assembly, and transferring them from Athens to

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the citadel of Thebes, by virtue of that clause which gave the magistrates of Bœotia a share in all councils and transactions. And such an uncontrolled power did he assume, that he rose publicly in the assembly, and declared that he would go as ambassador, whither he himself thought proper, although not authorised by your commission; and, if any of the generals should attempt to control him, he declared (as a warning to our magistrates to acknowledge his sovereign power, and as a means of accustoming them to implicit submission) that he would *commence a suit for establishing the pre-eminence of the speaker's gallery over the general's pavilion*; for that the state had derived more advantages from him in this gallery, than ever it had gained from the generals in their pavilions. Then, by his false musters in the contract for the foreign troops, he was enabled to secrete large sums of the money destined to the military service. And by hiring 10,000 of these troops of the Amphissæans, in spite of all my remonstrances, all my earnest solicitations in the assembly, he involved the state in the most perilous difficulties, at a time when the loss of these foreign troops had left us unprepared to encounter dangers. What think you was at this time the object of Philip's most ardent wishes? Was it not that he might attack our domestic forces, separately, and our foreign troops at Amphissa, separately, and thus take advantage of the general despair into which the Greeks must sink, at such an important blow? And now Demosthenes, the great author of these evils, is not contented that he

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escapes from justice, but, if he be denied the honour of a crown, expresses the highest indignation; nor is he satisfied that this crown should be proclaimed in your presence; but, unless all Greece be made witness of his honours, he complains of the grievous injury. And thus we find, that, when a disposition naturally base, hath obtained any considerable share of power, it never fails to work the ruin of a state.

148 I AM now to speak of a third offence, and this still more heinous than the others. Philip by no means despised the Greeks: was by no means ignorant (for he was not devoid of all sense) that by a general engagement he must set his whole power to the hazard of a day; he was well inclined to treat about an accommodation, and was on the point of sending deputies for this purpose, while the Theban magistrates, on their parts, were alarmed at the approaching danger, with good reason. For it was not a dastardly speaker, who fled from his post in battle, that presented it to their thoughts, but the Phocian war, that dreadful contest of ten years, which taught them a lesson never to be forgotten. Such was the state of his affairs, and Demosthenes perceived it; he suspected that the Bœotian chiefs were on the point of making a separate peace, and would receive Philip's gold without admitting him to a share; and deeming it worse than death to be thus excluded from any scheme of corruption, he started up in the assembly, before any man had declared his opinion that a peace should, or should not, be concluded with Philip, but with an

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intent of warning the Bœotian chiefs, by a kind of public proclamation, that they were to allow him his portion of their bribes; he swore by Minerva (whom it seems Phidias made for the use of Demosthenes, in his vile trade of fraud and perjury) that, if any man should utter one word of making peace with Philip, he himself, with his own hands, would drag him by the hair to prison; imitating in this the conduct of Cleophon, who in the war with Lacedemon, as we are informed, brought destruction upon the state[a]. But when the magistrates of Thebes paid him no attention, but, on the contrary, had countermanded their troops when on their march, and proposed to you to consult about a peace, then was he absolutely frantic; he rose up in the assembly; he called the Bœotian chiefs traitors to Greece; and declared that he himself would move (he who never dared to meet the face of an enemy) that you should send ambassadors to the Thebans, to demand a passage through their territory, for your forces, in their march against Philip. And thus through shame, and fearing that they

[a] *Destruction upon the state.* After the battle of Cyzicum, the Spartans offered to conclude a peace with Athens. Their ambassador proposed fair and equitable terms; and the moderate part of the state inclined to an accommodation. But the violent and factious leaders, among whom this Cleophon was distinguished, inflamed the people's vanity by a magnificent display of their late success, (as if fortune, saith Diodorus, had, contrary to her usual course, determined to confine her favours to one party). And thus the majority were prevailed upon to declare for war. And the event proved fatal.

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might really be thought to have betrayed Greece, were the magistrates of Thebes diverted from all thoughts of peace, and hurried at once to the field of battle[a].

AND here let us recall to mind those gallant men, whom he forced out to manifest destruction, without one sacred rite happily performed, one propitious omen to assure them of success; and yet, when they had fallen in battle, presumed to ascend their monument with those coward feet that fled from their post, and pronounced his encomiums on their merit. But O thou, who, on every occasion of great and important action, hast proved of all mankind the most worthless, in the insolence of language, the most astonishing, canst thou attempt, in the face of these thy fellow-citizens, to claim the honour of a crown, for the misfortunes in which thou hast plunged thy city? Or, should he claim it, can you restrain your indignation, and hath the memory of your slaughtered countrymen perished with them? Indulge me for a moment, and imagine that you are now not in this tribunal, but in the theatre; imagine that you see the herald approaching, and the proclamation prescribed in this decree, on the point of being delivered; and then consider, whether will the friends of the deceased shed more tears at the tragedies, at the pathetic stories of the great characters to be presented on the stage; or at the insensibility of their country? What inhabitant

[a] See History of Philip, b. v. sect. 2. page 263.

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of Greece, what human creature, who hath imbibed the least share of liberal sentiments, must not feel the deepest sorrow, when he reflects on one transaction which he must have seen in the theatre; when he remembers, if he remembers nothing else, that on festivals like these, when the tragedies were to be presented, in those times when the state was well governed, and directed by faithful ministers; a herald appeared, and introducing those orphans whose fathers had died in battle, now arrived at maturity, and dressed in complete armour, made a proclamation the most noble, and the most effectual to excite the mind to glorious actions: "That "these youths, whose fathers lost their lives in "fighting bravely for their country, the people had "maintained to this their age of maturity. That "now, having furnished them with complete suits "of armour, they dismiss them (with prayers for "their prosperity) to attend to their respective af-"fairs; and invite them to aspire to the highest "offices of the state."

Such were the proclamations in old times. But such are not now heard. And, were the herald to introduce the person who had made these children orphans, what could he say, or what could he proclaim? Should he speak in the form prescribed in this decree, yet the odious truth would still force itself upon you, it would seem to strike your ears with a language different from that of the herald. It would tell you, that "the Athenian people "crowned this man, who scarcely deserves the

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" name of a man, on account of his virtue, though " a wretch the most abandoned; and on account " of his magnanimity, though a coward and de- " serter of his post." Do not, Athenians, I conjure you by all the powers of heaven, do not erect a trophy in your theatre, to perpetuate your own disgrace: do not expose the weak conduct of your country, in the presence of the Greeks: do not recall all their grievous and desperate misfortunes to the minds of the wretched Thebans; who, when driven from their habitations by this man, were received within these walls: whose temples, whose children, whose sepulchral monuments were destroyed by the corruption of Demosthenes, and the Macedonian gold.

SINCE you were not personal spectators of their calamities, represent them to your imaginations; think that you behold their city stormed, their walls levelled with the ground, their houses in flames, their wives and children dragged to slavery, their hoary citizens, their ancient matrons, unlearning liberty in their old age, pouring out their tears, and crying to you for pity; expressing their resentment, not against the instruments, but the real authors of their calamities; importuning you by no means to grant a crown to this pest of Greece, but rather to guard against that curse, that fatal genius which evermore pursues him. For never did any state, never did any private persons, conduct their affairs to an happy issue, that were guided by the counsels of Demosthenes. And is it not shameful, my coun-

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trymen, that, in the case of those mariners who transport men over to Salamis, it should be enacted by a law, that whoever shall overset his vessel in this passage, even inadvertently, shall never be again admitted to the same employment, (so that no one may be suffered to expose the persons of the Greeks to careless hazard,) and yet, that this man, who hath quite overset all Greece, as well as this state, should be still intrusted with the helm of government?

That I may now speak of the fourth period, and thus proceed to the present times, I must recall one particular to your thoughts: that Demosthenes not only deserted from his post in battle, but fled from his duty in the city, under the pretence of employing some of our ships in collecting contributions from the Greeks. But when, contrary to expectation, the public dangers seemed to vanish, he again returned. At first he appeared a timorous and dejected creature; he rose in the assembly, scarcely half alive, and desired to be appointed a commissioner for settling and establishing the treaty. But, during the first progress of these transactions, you did not even allow the name of Demosthenes to be subscribed to your decrees, but appointed Nausicles your principal agent.—Yet now he has the presumption to demand a crown.—When Philip died, and Alexander succeeded to the kingdom, then did he once more practise his impostures. He raised altars to Pausanias, and loaded the senate with the odium of offering sacrifices and public thanksgiv-

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ings upon this occasion. He called Alexander a MARGITES[a], and had the presumption to assert that he would never stir from Macedon; for that he would be satisfied with parading through his capital, and there tearing up his victims in search of happy omens. And this, said he, I declare, not from conjecture, but from a clear conviction of this great truth, that glory is not to be purchased but by blood: the wretch! whose veins have no blood: who judged of Alexander, not from the temper of Alexander, but from his own dastardly soul.

BUT when the Thessalians had taken up arms against us, and the young prince at first expressed the warmest resentment, and not without reason; when an army had actually invested Thebes, then was he chosen our ambassador; but, when he had proceeded as far as Cithæron, he turned and ran back to Athens. Thus hath he proved equally worthless, both in peace and in war. But, what is most provoking, you refused to give him up to justice; nor would you suffer him to be tried in the general council of the Greeks. And, if that be true which is reported, he hath now repaid your indul-

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[a] A MARGITES, *i. e.* a contemptible idiot.——Immediately after the death of Philip, saith Plutarch, the states began to form a confederacy, at the instigation of Demosthenes. The Thebans whom he supplied with arms, attacked the Macedonian garrison, and cut off numbers of them. The Athenians prepared to join with Thebes. Their assemblies were directed solely by Demosthenes, who sent dispatches to the king's lieutenants in Asia, to prevail upon them to rise against Alexander, whom he called a BOY, and a MARGITES. PLUT. IN DEMOST.

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gence by an act of direct treason. For the mariners of the Paralian gallery, and the ambassadors sent to Alexander, report (and with great appearance of truth) that there is one Aristion, a Platæan, the son of Aristobulus the apothecary, (if any of you know the man). This youth, who was distinguished by the beauty of his person, lived a long time in the house of Demosthenes. How he was there employed, or to what purposes he served, is a matter of doubt, and which it might not be decent to explain particularly. And, as I am informed, he afterwards contrived (as his birth and course of life was a secret to the world) to insinuate himself into the favour of Alexander, with whom he lived with some intimacy. This man Demosthenes employed to deliver letters to Alexander, which served in some sort to dispel his fears, and affected his reconciliation with the prince; which he laboured to confirm by the most abandoned flattery.

And now observe how this account agrees with the facts which I allege against him. For if Demosthenes had been sincere in his professions; had he really been that mortal foe to Alexander; there were three most fortunate occasions for an opposition, not one of which he appears to have improved. The first was, when this prince had but just ascended the throne; and, before his own affairs were duly settled, passed over into Asia; when 384
the king of Persia was in the height of all his power, amply furnished with ships, with money, and with forces, and extremely desirous of admitting

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us to his alliance, on account of the danger which then threatened his dominions. Did you then, utter one word, Demosthenes? Did you rise up to move for any one resolution? Am I to impute your silence to terror; to the influence of your natural timidity? But the interests of the state cannot wait the timidity of a public speaker. Again, when Darius had taken the field with all his forces, when Alexander was shut up in the defiles of Cilicia, and, as you pretended, destitute of all necessaries; when he was upon the point of being trampled down by the Persian cavalry, (this was your language;) when your insolence was insupportable to the whole city; when you marched about in state with your letters in your hands, pointing me out to your creatures as a trembling and desponding wretch, calling me the *gilded victim*, and declaring that I was to be crowned for sacrifice, if any accident should happen to Alexander; still were you totally inactive; still you reserved yourself for some fairer occasion.—But to pass over all these things, and to come to late transactions. The Lacedemonians, in conjunction with their foreign troops, had gained a victory, and cut to pieces the Macedonian forces near Corragus; the Eleans had gone over to their party, and all the Achæans, except the people of Pellene; all Arcadia also, except the *great city*; and this was besieged, and every day expected to be taken: Alexander was at a distance farther than the pole; almost beyond the limits of the habitable world; Antipater had been long employed in collecting his forces; and the event was utterly uncertain. In this juncture, say,

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Demosthenes, what were your actions? what were your speeches? If you please, I will come down, and give you an opportunity of informing us. But you are silent. Well, then, I will show some tenderness to your hesitation, and I myself will tell the assembly how you then spoke. And do you not remember his strange and monstrous expressions? Which you (O astonishing insensibility!) could endure to hear. He rose up and cried, Some men are *pruning* the city; they are *lopping* the *tendrils* of the state; they *cut through the sinews* of our affairs; we are *packed up* and *matted*; they *thread* us *like needles.* ——Thou abandoned wretch! What language is this? Is it natural or monstrous?——Again, you writhed and twisted your body round the gallery; and cried out, as if you really exerted all your zeal against Alexander, "I confess that I prevailed on "the Lacedemonians to revolt; that I brought over "the Thessalians and Perribæans." Influence the Thessalians! Could you influence a single village, you who in time of danger never venture to stir from the city; no; not from your own house? Indeed, where any money is to be obtained, there you are ever ready to seize your prey; but utterly incapable of any action worthy of a man. If fortune favours us with some instance of success, then, indeed, he assumes the merit to himself; he ascribes it to his own address; if some danger alarms us, he flies; if our fears are quieted, he demands rewards, he expects golden crowns.

"But all this is granted. Yet he is a zealous

"friend to our free constitution." If you consider only his fair and plausible discourses, you may be deceived in this, as you have been in other instances. But look into his real nature and character, and you cannot be deceived. Hence it is that you are to form your judgment. And here I shall recount the several particulars necessary to form the character of a faithful citizen, and an useful friend to liberty. On the other hand, I shall describe the man who is likely to prove a bad member of society, and a favourer of the arbitrary power of a few. Do you apply these two descriptions to him, and consider not what he alleges, but what he really is.

I PRESUME, then, it must be universally acknowledged, that these are the characteristics of a friend to our free constitution. First, he must be of a liberal descent, both by father and mother, lest the misfortune of his birth should inspire him with a prejudice against the laws, which secure our freedom. Secondly, he must be descended from such ancestors as have done service to the people, at least, from such as have not lived in enmity with them: this is indispensably necessary, lest he should be prompted to do the state some injury, in order to revenge the quarrel of his ancestors. Thirdly, he must be discreet and temperate in his course of life, lest a luxurious dissipation of his fortune might tempt him to receive a bribe in order to betray his country. Fourthly, he must have integrity united with a powerful elocution: for it is the perfection of a

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statesman to possess that goodness of mind, which may ever direct him to the most salutary measures, together with a skill and power of speaking, which may effectually recommend them to his hearers. Yet, of the two, integrity is to be preferred to eloquence. Fifthly, he must have a manly spirit, that in war and danger he may not desert his country. It may be sufficient to say, without farther repetition, that a friend to the arbitrary power of a few is distinguished by the characteristics directly opposite to these.

And now consider which of them agree to Demosthenes. Let us state the account with the most scrupulous regard to justice. This man's father was 171
Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, a citizen of repute, (for I shall adhere strictly to truth). But how he stands as to family, with respect to his mother and her father, I must now explain. There was once in Athens a man called Gylon; who by betraying Nymphæum in Pontus to the enemy, a city then possessed by us, was obliged to fly from his country in order to escape the sentence of death denounced against him, and settled on the Bosphorus, where he obtained, from the neighbouring princes, a tract of land called *the Gardens*; and married a woman, who indeed brought him a considerable fortune, but was by birth a Scythian. By her he had two daughters, whom he sent hither with a great quantity of wealth; one of them he settled,

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I shall not mention[a] with whom, that I may not provoke the resentment of too many; the other Demosthenes the Pæanian married in defiance of our laws, and from her is the present Demosthenes sprung; our turbulent and malicious informer. So that by his grandfather, in the female line, he is an enemy to the state, for his grandfather was condemned to death by your ancestors. And by his mother he is a Scythian, one who assumes the language of Greece, but whose abandoned principles betray his barbarous descent.

And what hath been his course of life?—He first assumed the office of a trierarch: and, having exhausted his paternal fortune by this ridiculous vanity, he descended to the profession of an hired advocate: but having lost all credit in this employment, by betraying the secrets of his clients to their antagonists, he forced his way into the gallery, and appeared a popular speaker. When those vast sums, of which he had defrauded the public, were just dissipated, a sudden tide of Persian gold poured into his exhausted coffers; nor was all this sufficient; for no fund whatever can prove sufficient for the profligate and corrupt. In a word, he supported

[a] *I shall not mention*, &c. The name, which Æschines suppresses from motives of policy, Demosthenes hath himself discovered in his oration against Aphobus. Where he declares that his mother was daughter to this Gylon, and that her sister married Demochares. This passage must have escaped Plutarch; as he expresses a doubt whether the account here given of the family of Demosthenes be true or false. Tourreil.

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himself, not by a fortune of his own, but by your perils. But how doth he appear with respect to integrity, and force of elocution? Powerful in speaking; abandoned in his manners. Of such unnatural depravity in his sensual gratifications, that I cannot describe his practices; I cannot offend that delicacy to which such shocking descriptions are always odious. And how hath he served the public? His speeches have been plausible; his actions traitorous.

As to his courage, I need say but little on that head. Did he himself deny that he is a coward? were you not sensible of it, I should think it necessary to detain you by a formal course of evidence. But as he hath publicly confessed it in our assemblies, and as you have been witnesses of it, it remains only that I remind you of the laws enacted against such crimes. It was the determination of Solon, our old legislator, that he who evaded his duty in the field, or left his post in battle, should be subject to the same penalties with the man directly convicted of cowardice. For there are laws enacted against cowardice. It may perhaps seem wonderful, that the law should take cognizance of a natural infirmity. But such is the fact. And why? That every one of us may dread the punishment denounced by law, more than the enemy; and thus prove the better soldier in the cause of his country. The man, then, who declines the service of the field, the coward, and he who leaves his post in battle, are, by our lawgiver, excluded from all

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share[a] in public deliberations, rendered incapable of receiving the honour of a crown, and denied admission to the religious rites performed by the public. But you direct us to crown a person, whom the laws declare to be incapable of receiving a crown; and by your decree you introduce a man into the theatre, who is disqualified from appearing there; you call him into a place sacred to Bacchus, who by his cowardice hath betrayed all our sacred places.—But, that I may not divert you from the great point, remember this. When Demosthenes tells you that he is a friend to liberty, examine not his speeches, but his actions; and consider, not what he professes to be, but what he really is.

177 And, now that I have mentioned crowns and public honours, while it yet rests upon my mind, let me recommend this precaution. It must be your part, Athenians, to put an end to this frequency of public honours, these precipitate grants of crowns; else, they who obtain them will owe you no acknowledgment, nor shall the state receive the least advantage: (for you never can make bad men better; and those of real merit must be cast into the

[a] *From all share*, &c. The original expression imports *from the lustral vessels of our public place of assembling*. These vessels of hallowed water were placed at the entrance of their temples, and the avenues of their forum, for the same purpose to which they are at this day applied in Popish churches. And it was a part of the religious ceremonies performed in their public assemblies, previously to all deliberation, to sprinkle the place, and the people, from those vessels.

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utmost dejection.) Of this truth, I shall convince you by the most powerful arguments. Suppose a man should ask, At what time this state supported the most illustrious reputation, in the present days, or in those of our ancestors? With one voice you would reply, "In the days of our ancestors." At what time did our citizens display the greatest merit? Then, or now? They were then eminent; now, much less distinguished. At what time were rewards, crowns, proclamations, and public honours of every kind most frequent? Then, or now? Then they were rare, (and truly valuable;) then the name of merit bore the highest lustre: but now, it is tarnished and effaced; while your honours are conferred by course and custom, not with judgment and distinction.

It may possibly seem unaccountable, that rewards are now more frequent, yet that public affairs were then more flourishing; that our citizens are now less worthy, but were then of real eminence. This is a difficulty which I shall endeavour to obviate. Do you imagine, Athenians, that any man whatever would engage in the games held on our festivals, or in any others, where the victors receive a crown, in the exercises of wrestling, or in any of the several athletic contests, if the crown was to be conferred, not on the most worthy, but on the man of greatest interest? Surely no man would engage. But now, as the reward of such their victory is rare, hardly to be obtained, truly honourable, and never to be forgotten; there are champions found, ready to submit

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to the severest preparatory discipline, and to encounter all the dangers of the contest. Imagine, then, that political merit is a kind of game, which you are appointed to direct; and consider that, if you grant the prizes to a few, and those the most worthy, and on such conditions as the laws prescribe, you will have many champions in this contest of merit. But, if you gratify any man that pleases, or those who can secure the strongest interest, you will be the means of corrupting the very best natural dispositions.

THAT you may conceive the force of what I here advance, I must explain myself still more clearly.—Which, think ye, was the more worthy citizen; Themistocles, who commanded your fleet, when you defeated the Persian in the sea-fight at Salamis; or this Demosthenes, who deserted from his post? Miltiades, who conquered the barbarians at Marathon, or this man? The chiefs who led back the people from Phylè[a]? Aristides, surnamed the Just, a title quite different from that of Demosthenes? —No; by the powers of heaven, I deem the names of these heroes too noble to be mentioned in the same day with that of this savage. And let Demosthenes shew, when he comes to his reply, if ever a decree was made for granting a golden crown to them. Was then the state ungrateful? No: but she thought highly of her own dignity. And these

[a] *From Phylè, i. e.* When Thrasybulus had expelled the thirty tyrants, established by the Lacedemonians in Athens, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.

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citizens, who were not thus honoured, appear to have been truly worthy of such a state; for they imagined that they were not to be honoured by public records, but by the memories of those they had obliged; and their honours have there remained, from that time down to this day, in characters indelible and immortal. There were citizens in those days, who, being stationed at the river Strymon, there patiently endured a long series of toils and dangers, and, at length, gained a victory over the Medes. At their return, they petitioned the people for a reward; and a reward was conferred upon them, (then deemed of great importance,) by erecting three Mercuries of stone in the usual portico, on which, however, their names were not inscribed, lest this might seem a monument erected to the honour of the commanders, not to that of the people. For the truth of this, I appeal to the inscriptions. That on the first statue was expressed thus:

Great souls! who fought near Strymon's rapid tide;
And brav'd th' invader's arm, and quell'd his pride.
Eïon's high tow'rs confess'd the glorious deed:
And saw dire famine waste the vanquish'd MEDE.
Such was our vengeance on the barb'rous host;
And such the gen'rous toils our heroes boast.

THIS was the inscription on the second:

This, the reward which grateful Athens gives!
Here, still the patriot and the hero lives!
Here, let the rising age with rapture gaze,
And emulate the glorious deeds they praise.

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On the third was the inscription thus:

Menestheus, hence, led forth his chosen train,
And pour'd the war o'er hapless Ilion's plain.
'Twas his, (so speaks the bard's immortal lay,)
To form th' embody'd host in firm array.
Such were our sons!'—Nor yet shall Athens yield
The first bright honours of the sanguine field.
Still, nurse of heroes! still the praise is thine,
Of ev'ry glorious toil, of ev'ry act divine.

In these do we find the name of the general? No; but that of the people. Fancy yourselves 186
transported to the grand portico; for, in this your place of assembling, the monuments of all great actions are erected full in view. There we find a picture of the battle of Marathon. Who was the general in this battle? To this question you would all answer, Miltiades. And yet his name is not inscribed. How? Did he not petition for such an honour? He did petition: but the people refused to grant it. Instead of inscribing his name, they consented that he should be drawn in the foreground, encouraging his soldiers. In like manner, 187
in the temple of the great mother, adjoining to the senate-house, you may see the honours paid to those who brought our exiles back from Phylè. The decree for these honours was solicited and obtained by Archines, one of those whom they restored to the citizens. And this decree directs first, that a thousand drachmæ shall be given to them, for sacrifices and offerings; a sum which allowed not quite ten drachmæ to each. In the next place, it

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ordains, that each shall be crowned with a wreath of olive, not of gold. For crowns of olive were then deemed highly honourable; now, those of gold are regarded with contempt. Nor was even this to be granted precipitately, but after an exact previous examination, by the senate, into the numbers of those who had maintained their post at Phylè, when the Lacedemonians and the thirty had marched to attack them, not of those who had fled from their post at Chæronea, on the first appearance of an enemy. And for the truth of this let the decree be read.

The Decree for honouring those who had been at Phylè.

COMPARE this with the decree proposed by Ctesiphon in favour of Demosthenes, the author of our most grievous calamities.—Read

The Decree of Ctesiphon.

BY this decree are the honours granted to those who restored our exiles utterly effaced. If to confer the one was laudable, to grant the other must be scandalous. If they were worthy of their public honours, he must be utterly unworthy of this crown. —But it is his purpose to allege (as I am informed) that I proceed without candour or justice, in comparing his actions with those of our ancestors. In the Olympic games, saith he, Philamon is not crowned because he hath excelled Glaucus the an-

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cient wrestler, but because he hath conquered his own antagonists. As if you did not know that, in these games, the contest is between the immediate combatants; but, where political merit is to be honoured, the contest is with merit itself; nor can the herald at all deviate from truth, when he is to make proclamation in the presence of the Greeks. Do not then pretend to say you have served the state better than Patæcion; prove that you have attained to true and perfect excellence; and then demand honours from the people. But, that I may not lead you too far from the subject, let the secretary read the inscription in honour of those who brought back the people from Phylè.

THE INSCRIPTION.

These wreaths ATHENIAN gratitude bestows
On the brave chiefs, who first, for freedom, rose,
Drove the proud TYRANTS from their lawless state,
And bade the rescu'd land again be great.

THAT they had overturned a government repugnant to the laws: this is the very reason here assigned for their public honours. For such was the universal reverence for the laws, at that time, that men's ears were perpetually ringing with this maxim, that, by defeating impeachments against illegal practices, our constitution was instantly subverted. So have I been informed by my father, who died at the age of ninety-five, after sharing all the distresses of his country. Such were the principles he repeatedly inculcated, in his hours of disengagement.

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By him have I been assured that, at the time when our freedom was just restored, the man who stood arraigned for any violation of the laws received the punishment due to his offence, without respite or mercy. And what offence can be conceived more impious than an infringement of the laws either by word or action?—At that time, said he, such causes were not heard in the same manner as at present. The judges exerted more severity against those who stood impeached, than even the prosecutor. It was then usual for them to interrupt the secretary, to oblige him again to read the laws, and to compare them with the decree impeached: and to pronounce their sentence of condemnation, not on those only who had been convicted of violating the whole tenor of the laws, but even on those who had deviated from them, in one single particle. But the present course of procedure is even ridiculous. The officer reads the indictment; but, as if it was an idle song, or some trivial matter of no concernment to them, the judges turn their attention to some other subject. And thus, seduced by the wiles of Demosthenes, you have admitted a shameful practice into your tribunals; and public justice is perverted: the prosecutor is obliged to appear as the defendant; while the person accused commences prosecutor: the judges sometimes forget the points to which their right of judicature extends, and are forced to give sentence on matters not fairly cognizable on their tribunals; and, if the impeached party ever deigns to enter on his defence, his plea is, not that he is innocent of the charge, but that some other

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person, equally guilty, hath on some former occasion been suffered to escape. And on this plea Ctesiphon relies with greatest confidence, as I am informed.

YOUR citizen Aristophon once dared to boast that fifty-five times had he been prosecuted for illegal decrees, and as many times had he escaped. Not so Cephalus, our old minister, he whom he deemed the most zealously attached to the constitution. He, on the contrary, accounted it his greatest glory, that, although he had proposed more decrees than any other citizen, yet had he been not once obliged to defend himself against an impeachment. And this was really matter of triumph; for, in his days, prosecutions were commenced, not by the partizans of opposite factions against each other, but by friends against friends, in every case in which the state was injured. To produce an instance of this. Archimus commenced a prosecution against Thrasybulus, on account of a decree for crowning one of those who had returned from Phylè, which, in some circumstances, was repugnant to the laws: and, notwithstanding his late important services, sentence was pronounced against him. These were not at all regarded by the judges. It was their principle, that, as Thrasybulus had once restored our exiles, so he in effect drove his fellow-citizens into exile, by proposing any one act repugnant to the laws. But now we have quite different sentiments. Now our generals of character, our citizens

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whose services have been rewarded by public maintenance[a], exert their interest to suppress impeachments; and in this they must be deemed guilty of the utmost ingratitude. For the man who hath been honoured by the state, a state which owes its being only to the gods and to the laws, and yet presumes to support those who violate the laws, in effect subverts that government by which his honours were conferred.

Here then I shall explain, how far a citizen may honestly and regularly proceed in pleading for an offender.——When an impeachment for illegal practices is to be tried in the tribunal, the day of hearing is divided into three parts; the first part is assigned to the prosecutor, to the laws, and to the constitution; the second is granted to the accused, and to his assistants. If then sentence of acquittal be not passed, on the first question, a third portion is assigned for the consideration of the fine, and for adjusting the degree of your resentment. He then who petitions for your vote, when the fine is to be considered, petitions only against the rigour of your resentment. But he who petitions for your vote upon the first question, petitions you to give up your oath, to give up the law, to give up the constitution: a favour which it is impious to ask, which, if asked, it is impious to grant. Tell these

[a] *By public maintenance.* In the original, *some of those who have their table in the Prytanæum.* The greatest honour which a citizen could receive for his public services. Such persons then had a natural authority and influence in public assemblies.

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intercedders then, that they are to leave you at full liberty to decide the first question agreeably to the laws: let them reserve their eloquence for the question relative to the fine.

Upon the whole, Athenians, I am almost tempted to declare, that a law should be enacted solely respecting impeachments for illegal proceedings; that neither the prosecutor, nor the accused, should ever be allowed the assistance of advocates: for the merits of such causes are not vague and undetermined. No; they are accurately defined by your laws. As in architecture, when we would be assured whether any part stand upright or no, we apply the rule by which it is ascertained; so in these impeachments we have a rule provided in the record of the prosecution, in the decree impeached, and in the laws with which it is compared. Shew, then, in the present case, that these last are consonant to each other, and that you are at once acquitted. What need you call upon Demosthenes? But if you evade the equitable method of defence, and call to your assistance a man practised in craft, in all the wiles of speaking, you then abuse the attention of your judges, you injure the state, you subvert the constitution.

It must be my part effectually to guard you against such evasion. When Ctesiphon rises up, and begins with repeating the fine introduction composed for him; when he winds through his solemn periods, without ever coming to the great

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point of his defence; then remind him calmly and quietly to take up the record of his impeachment, and compare his decree with the laws. Should he pretend not to hear you, do you too refuse to hear him: for you are here convened to attend, not to those who would evade the just methods of defence, but to the men who defend their cause fairly and regularly. And should he still decline the legal and equitable defence, and call on Demosthenes to plead for him, my first request is, that you would not at all admit an insidious advocate, who thinks to subvert the laws by his harangues: that, when Ctesiphon asks whether he shall call Demosthenes, no man should esteem it meritorious to be the first to cry, "call him, call him." If you call him, against yourselves you call him, against the laws you call him, against the constitution you call him. Or, if you resolve to hear him, I then request that Demosthenes may be confined to the same method in his defence, which I have pursued in this my charge. And what method have I pursued? That I may assist your memories, observe, that I have not begun with the private life of Demosthenes; that I have not introduced my prosecution with a detail of misdemeanors in his public conduct; although I could not want various and numberless instances to urge, unless I were totally inexperienced in affairs. Instead of this, I first produced the laws which directly forbid any man to be crowned, whose accounts are not yet passed: I then proved that Ctesiphon had proposed a decree for granting a crown to Demosthenes, while his accounts yet remained to

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be passed; without any qualifying clause, or any such addition, as, "WHEN HIS ACCOUNTS SHALL "FIRST HAVE BEEN APPROVED:" but in open and avowed contempt of you and of the laws. I mentioned also the pretences to be alleged for this procedure, and then recited the laws relative to proclamations, in which it is directly enacted, that no crown shall be proclaimed in any other place but in the assembly only. So that the defendant has not only proposed a decree repugnant in general to the laws, but has transgressed in the circumstances of time and place, by directing the proclamation to be made not in the assembly, but in the theatre; not when the people were convened, but when the tragedies were to be presented. From these points I proceeded to take some notice of his private life: but chiefly I insist upon his public offences.

IT is your part to oblige Demosthenes to the same method in his defence. First, let him speak of the laws relative to magistrates yet accountable to the public; then of those which regard proclamations; and, thirdly, which is the point of greatest moment, let him prove, that he is worthy of this honour. And, should he supplicate to be allowed his own method, and should he promise to conclude his defence with obviating the charge of illegality, grant him not this indulgence; know that, in this, he means to engage in a trial of skill with his tribunal. It is not his intention to return at any time to this great point; but, as it is a point he can by no means obviate by any equitable plea, he would divert your

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attention to other matters, that so you may forget the grand article of this impeachment. But as in athletic contests you see the wrestlers struggling with each other for the advantage of situation, so, in this contest for the state, and for the method of his pleading, exert the most incessant and obstinate efforts. Suffer him not to wander from the great article of *illegality*; confine him, watch him, drive him to the point in question; and be strictly guarded against the evasive windings of his harangue.

SHOULD you decline this strict and regular examination of the cause, it is but just that I warn you of the consequences. The impeached party will produce that vile impostor, that robber, that plunderer of the public. He can weep with greater ease than others laugh; and, for perjury, is of all mankind the most ready. Nor shall I be surprised if he should suddenly change his wailings to the most virulent abuse of those who attend the trial: if he should declare, that the notorious favourers of oligarchal power are, to a man, ranged on the side of the accuser, and that the friends of liberty appear as friends to the defendant. But, should he thus allege, his seditious insolence may be at once confounded by the following reply: "If those citizens "who brought back the people from their exile in "Phylè, had been like you, Demosthenes, our free "constitution had never been established: but they, "when the most dreadful calamities were impend-"ing, saved the state by pronouncing one single "word, AN AMNESTY: (that noble word, the

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" genuine dictate of wisdom,) while you tear open " the wounds of your country, and discover more " solicitude for the composition of your harangues " than for the interest of the state."

When this perjured man comes to demand credit to his oaths, remind him of this, that he who hath frequently sworn falsely, and yet expects to be believed upon his oath, should be favoured by one of these two circumstances, of which Demosthenes finds neither: his gods must be new, or his auditors different. As to his tears, as to his passionate exertions of voice, when he cries out, " Whither " shall I fly, ye men of Athens? You banish me " from the city, and, alas! I have no place of re- " fuge:" let this be your reply: " And where shall " the people find refuge? What provision of allies? " What treasures are prepared? What resources " hath your administration secured? We all see " what precautions you have taken for your own " security: you who have left the city, not, as you " pretend, to take up your residence in the Piræus, " but to seize the first favourable moment of flying " from your country: you who, to quiet all your " dastardly fears, have ample provisions secured in " the gold of Persia, and all the bribes of your ad- " ministration."—But, after all, why these tears? Why these exclamations? Why this vehemence? Is it not Ctesiphon who stands impeached? And, in a cause where judges are at liberty to moderate his punishment. You are not engaged in any suit, by which either your fortune, or your person, or

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your reputation may be affected. For what then doth he express all this solicitude? For golden crowns; for proclamations in the theatre, expressly forbidden by the law. The man, who, if the people could be so infatuated, if they could have so completely lost all memory, as to grant him any such honour, at a season so improper, should rise in the assembly, and say, "Ye men of Athens, I "accept the crown, but approve not of the time "appointed for the proclamation. While the city "wears the habit of a mourner, let not me be "crowned for the causes of her sorrow." This would be the language of a truly virtuous man: you speak the sentiments of an accursed wretch, the malignant enemy of all goodness. And, let no man conceive the least fear; (no, by Hercules, it is not to be feared!) that this Demosthenes, this generous spirit, this distinguished hero in war, if disappointed of these honours, shall retire and dispatch himself. He, who holds your esteem in such sovereign contempt, that he hath a thousand times gashed that accursed head, that head which yet stands accountable to the state, which this man hath proposed to crown in defiance of all law. He, who hath made a trade of such practices, by commencing suits for wounds inflicted by himself; who is so completely battered, that the fury of Midias still remains imprinted on his head:—head did I call it? No, it is his estate.

With respect to Ctesiphon, the author of this decree, let me but mention some few particulars. I

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pass over many things that might be urged, proposedly to try, whether you can of yourselves, and without direction, mark out the men of consummate iniquity. I then confine myself to such points as equally affect them both, and may be urged with equal justice against the one and the other. They go round the public places, each possessed with the justest notions of his associate, and each declaring truths which cannot be denied. Ctesiphon says, that for himself he has no fears: he hopes to be considered as a man of weakness and inexperience: but that his fears are all for the corruption of Demosthenes, his timidity and cowardice. Demosthenes, on the other hand, declares, That with respect to himself he hath full confidence, but that he feels the utmost apprehensions from the iniquity of Ctesiphon, and his abandoned debauchery. When these, therefore, pronounce each other guilty, do you, their common judges, by no means suffer their offences to escape unpunished.

As to the calumnies with which I am attacked, I would prevent their effect by a few observations. I am informed that Demosthenes is to urge, that the state hath received services from him, but in many instances hath been injured by me: the transactions of Philip, the conduct of Alexander, all the crimes by them committed, he means to impute to me. And so much doth he rely upon his powerful abilities in the art of speaking, that he does not confine his accusations to any point of administration, in which I may have been concerned; to any counsels, which

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I may have publicly suggested: he traduces the retired part of my life, he imputes my silence as a crime. And, that no one topic may escape his officious malice, he extends his accusations even to my conduct, when associated with my young companions in our schools of exercise. The very introduction of his defence is to contain a heavy censure of this suit. I have commenced the prosecution, he will say, not to serve the state, but to display my zeal to Alexander, and to gratify the resentment of this prince against him. And (if I am truly informed) he means to ask why I now condemn the whole of his administration, although I never opposed, never impeached, any one part of it separately; and why, after a long course of time, in which I scarcely ever was engaged in public business, I now return to conduct this prosecution?

I, ON my part, am by no means inclined to emulate that course of conduct which Demosthenes hath pursued: nor am I ashamed of mine own. Whatever speeches I have made, I do not wish them unsaid; nor, had I spoken like Demosthenes, could I support my being. My silence, Demosthenes, hath been occasioned by my life of temperance. I am contented with a little: nor do I desire any accession which must be purchased by iniquity. My silence, therefore, and my speaking, are the result of reason, not extorted by the demands of inordinate passions. But you are silent, when you have received your bribe; when you have spent it, you exclaim. And you speak, not at such times as you

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roof you had been received; at whose table you eat and drank, and poured out your libations; whose right hand you clasped in yours; and whom you pronounced your friend and host. This very man you slew; and when all these points were fully proved by me, in presence of the whole city; when I called you murderer of your host, you never attempted to deny your impiety; no; you made an answer that raised a shout of indignation from the people and all the strangers in the assembly. You said that you esteemed[a] the salt of Athens more than the tables of foreigners.

I PASS over the counterfeited letters, the seizing of spies, the tortures for fictitious crimes, all to load me with the odium of uniting with a faction, to introduce innovations in the state. Yet still he means to ask me, as I am informed, what would be thought of that physician, who, while the patient laboured under his disorder, never should propose the least advice, but when he had expired should attend his funeral, and there enlarge upon those methods, which, if pursued, would have restored his health. But you do not ask yourself what must be thought of such a minister as could amuse his countrymen

[a] *You esteemed*, &c. The expressions [salt] and [tables] were symbols of friendship, familiarity, and affection. So that this declaration imported no more than, that any connections he had formed abroad were not to interfere with his duty and attachment to the state. A declaration which might well be justified. But his hearers either suspected his sincerity, or were violently transported by that habitual horror which they entertained of every violation of the rights of hospitality.

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with flattery, while he betrayed their interest at such junctures as might have been improved to their security; while his clamours prevented their true friends from speaking in their cause; who should basely fly from danger, involve the state in calamities the most desperate, yet demand the honour of a crown for his merit, though author of no one public service, but the cause of all our misfortunes; who should insult those men, whom his malicious prosecutions silenced in those times when we might have been preserved, by asking why they did not oppose his misconduct? If this still remains to be answered, they may observe, that, at the time of the fatal battle, we had no leisure for considering the punishment due to your offences; we were entirely engaged in negociations, to avert the ruin of the state. But after this, when you, not contented with escaping from justice, dared to demand honours; when you attempted to render your country ridiculous to Greece; then did I arise, and commence this prosecution.

But, O ye gods! how can I restrain my indignation at one thing, which Demosthenes means to urge, (as I have been told) and which I shall here explain? He compares me to the Sirens, whose purpose is not to delight their hearers, but to destroy them. Even so, if we are to believe him, my abilities in speaking, whether acquired by exercise, or given by nature, all tend to the detriment of those who grant me their attention. I am bold to say, that no man hath a right to urge an allegation

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of this nature against me; for it is shameful in an accuser not to be able to establish his assertions with full proof. But, if such must be urged, surely it should not come from Demosthenes; it should be the observation of some military man, who had done important services, but was unskilled in speech; who repined at the abilities of his antagonist, conscious that he could not display his own actions, and sensible that his accuser had the art of persuading his audience to impute such actions to him as he never had committed. But when a man composed entirely of words, and these the bitterest and most pompously laboured; when he recurs to simplicity, to artless facts, who can endure it? He who is but an instrument, take away his tongue, and he is nothing.

I AM utterly at a loss to conceive, and would gladly be informed, Athenians, upon what grounds you can possibly give sentence for the defendant. Can it be because this decree is not illegal? No public act was ever more repugnant to the laws. Or because the author of this decree is not a proper object of public justice? All your examinations of men's conduct are no more, if this man be suffered to escape. And is not this lamentable, that formerly your stage was filled with crowns of gold, conferred by the Greeks upon the people, (as the season of our public entertainments was assigned for the honours granted by foreigners); but now, by the ministerial conduct of Demosthenes, you should lose all crowns, all public honours, while he enjoys them in full pomp? Should any of these

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tragic poets, whose works are to succeed our public proclamations, represent Thersites crowned by the Greeks, no man could endure it, because Homer marks him as a coward and a sycophant; and can you imagine that you yourselves will not be the derision of all Greece, if this man be permitted to receive his crown? In former times, your fathers ascribed every thing glorious and illustrious in the public fortune, to the people; transferred the blame of every thing mean and dishonourable to bad ministers. But, now, Ctesiphon would persuade you to divest Demosthenes of his ignominy, and to cast it on the state. You acknowledge that you are favoured by fortune; and justly, for you are so favoured; and will you now declare by your sentence that fortune hath abandoned you; that Demosthenes hath been your only benefactor? Will you proceed to the last absurdity, and, in the very same tribunals, condemn those to infamy, whom you have detected in corruption; and yet confer a crown on him whose whole administration, you are sensible, hath been one series of corruption? In our public spectacles, the judges of our common dancers are at once fined, if they decide unjustly; and will you, who are appointed judges, not of dancing, but of the laws, and of public virtue, confer honours not agreeably to the laws, not on a few, and those most eminent in merit, but on any man who can establish his influence by intrigue? A judge who can descend to this leaves the tribunal, after having reduced himself to a state of weakness, and strengthened the power of an orator. For, in a democratical state, every

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man hath a sort of kingly power founded on the laws, and on our public acts; but, when he resigns these into the hands of another, he himself subverts his own sovereignty. And then the consciousness of that oath, by which his sentence was to have been directed, pursues him with remorse. In the violation of that oath, consists his great guilt; while the obligation he confers is a secret to the favoured party, as his sentence is given by private ballot.

It appears to me, Athenians, that our imprudent measures have been attended with some degree of lucky fortune, as well as no small danger to the state. For that you, the majority, have, in these times, resigned the whole strength of your free government into the hands of a few, I by no means approve. But that we have not been overwhelmed by a torrent of bold and wicked speakers, is a proof of our good fortune. In former times the state produced such spirits, as found it easy to subvert the government, while they amused their fellow-citizens with flattery. And thus was the constitution destroyed, not by the men we most feared, but by those in whom we most confided. Some of them united publicly with the THIRTY, and put to death more than fifteen hundred of our citizens, without trial; without suffering them to know the crimes for which they were thus condemned; without admitting their relations to pay the common rites of interment to their bodies. Will you not then keep your ministers under your own power? Shall not the men, now so extravagantly elated, be sent away duly humbled? And can it be forgotten, that no

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man ever hath attempted to destroy our constitution, until he had first made himself superior to our tribunals?

And here, in your presence, would I gladly enter into a discussion with the author of this decree, as to the nature of those services, for which he desires that Demosthenes should be crowned. If you allege, agreeably to the first clause of the decree, that he hath surrounded our walls with an excellent intrenchment; I must declare my surprise. Surely the guilt of having rendered such a work necessary, far outweighs the merits of its execution. It is not he who has strengthened our fortifications, who hath digged our intrenchments, who hath disturbed the tombs of our ancestors[a], that should demand the honours of a patriot minister, but he who hath procured some intrinsic services to the state. If you have recourse to the second clause, where you presume to say that he is a good man, and hath ever persevered in speaking and acting for the interest of the people, strip your decree of its vain glo-

[a] *The tombs of our ancestors*, &c. To understand this, it must be observed that Themistocles, who built these walls, of which Demosthenes was charged with the repair, had ordered that the materials should be instantly collected from all places without distinction, public or private, profane or sacred. *Quod factum est*, saith Cornelius Nepos, *ut Atheniensium nuri ex sacellis* SEPULCHRISQUE *constarent*. Thus the speaker had a fair opportunity not only for detracting from the merit of his rival, but for converting it into an heinous crime: no less than that of violating those tombs of their ancestors, which had made part of their fortifications.

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rious pomp; adhere to facts; and prove what you have asserted. I shall not press you with the instances of his corruption, in the affairs of Amphissa and Eubœa. But, if you attempt to transfer the merit of the Theban alliance to Demosthenes, you but impose on the men who are strangers to affairs, and insult those who are acquainted with them, and see through your falsehood. By suppressing all mention of the urgent juncture, of the illustrious reputation of these our fellow-citizens, the real causes of this alliance, you fancy that you have effectually concealed your fraud, in ascribing a merit to Demosthenes, which really belongs to the state. And now I shall endeavor to explain the greatness of this arrogance, by one striking example. The king of Persia, not long before the descent of Alexander into Asia, dispatched a letter to the state, expressed in all the insolence of a barbarian. His shocking and unmannered licence appeared in every part; but, in the conclusion, particulary, he expressed himself directly, thus: "I will not grant "you gold: trouble me not with your demands; "they shall not be gratified." And yet this man, when he found himself involved in all his present difficulties, without any demand from Athens, but freely, and of himself, sent thirty talents to the state which were most judiciously rejected. It was the juncture of affairs, and his terrors, and his pressing want of an alliance, which brought this sum: the very causes which effected the alliance of Thebes. You are ever sounding in our ears the name of Thebes, you are ever teasing us with the repetition

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of that unfortunate alliance: but not one word is ever suffered to escape, of those seventy talents of Persian gold, which you diverted from the public service into your own coffers. Was it not from the want of money, from the want of only five talents, that the foreign troops refused to give up the citadel to the Thebans? Was it not from the want of nine talents of silver, that, when the Arcadians were drawn out, and all the leaders prepared to march, the whole expedition was defeated? But you are in the midst of affluence, you have treasures to satisfy your sensuality,——and to crown all——while he enjoys the royal wealth, the dangers all devolve on you.

THE absurdity of these men well deserves to be considered. Should Ctesiphon presume to call upon Demosthenes to speak before you, and should he rise and lavish his praises upon himself, to hear him would be still more painful than all you have suffered by his conduct. Men of real merit, men of whose numerous and glorious services we are clearly sensible, are not yet endured when they speak their own praises. But when a man, the scandal of his country, sounds his own encomium, who can hear such arrogance with any temper? No, Ctesiphon, if you have sense, avoid so shameless a procedure; make your defence in person. You cannot recur to the pretence of any inability for speaking. It would be absurd, that you, who suffered yourself to be chosen ambassador to Cleopatra, Philip's daughter, in order to present our

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331 condolements on the death of Alexander, king of the Molossi, should now plead such an inability. If you were capable of consoling a woman of another country, in the midst of her grief, can you decline the defence of a decree for which you are well paid? Or is he to whom you grant this crown, such a man as must be totally unknown, even to those on whom he hath conferred his services, unless you have an advocate to assist you? Ask the judges, whether they know Chabrias, and Iphicrates, and Timotheus. Ask for what reason they made them presents, and raised their statues. With one voice they will instantly reply, that to Chabrias they granted these honours, on account of the sea-fight at Naxos; to Iphicrates, because he cut off the detachment of Lacedemonians; to Timotheus, on account of his expedition to Corcyra; and to others, as the reward of those many and glorious services which each performed in war. Ask them again, why they refuse the like honours to Demosthenes; they will answer, because he is a corrupted hireling, a coward, and a deserter. Crown him! would this be to confer an honour on Demosthenes? Would it not rather be to disgrace yourselves, and those brave men who fell in battle for their country? Imagine that you see these here, roused to indignation, at the thoughts of granting him a crown. Hard, indeed, would be the case, if we remove[a]

[a] *If we remove*, &c. Draco the lawgiver had enacted this law for exterminating even such inanimate beings as had occasioned the death of a citizen, in order, (as it seems) to inspire a peculiar

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speechless and senseless beings from our borders, such as blocks and stones, when by accident they have crushed a citizen to death; if, in the case of self-murder, we bury the hand that committed the deed separate from the rest of the body; and yet that we should confer honours on Demosthenes, on him who was the author of the late expedition, the man who betrayed our citizens to destruction. This would be to insult the dead, and to damp the ardour of the living, when they see that the prize of all their virtue is death, and that their memory must perish.

But to urge the point of greatest moment: should any of your sons demand by what examples they are to form their lives, how would you reply? For you well know that it is not only by bodily exercises, by seminaries of learning, or by instructions in music, that our youth is trained, but much more effectually by public examples. Is it proclaimed in the theatre that a man is honoured with a crown, for his virtue, his magnanimity, and his patriotism, who yet proves to be abandoned and profligate in his life? The youth who sees this is corrupted. Is public justice inflicted on a man of base and scandalous vices like Ctesiphon? This affords excellent instruction to others. Doth the judge, who has given a sentence repugnant to honour and to

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horror of homicide [the crime most to be guarded against among a people not yet completely civilized]. And it may be proper to observe that Solon, who abolished the laws of Draco as too severe, meddled not with those which related to homicide, but left them in full force. TOURREIL.

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justice, return home and instruct his son? That son is well warranted to reject his instruction. Advice in such a case may well be called impertinence. Not then as judges only, but as guardians of the state, give your voices in such a manner, that you may approve your conduct to those absent citizens who may inquire what hath been the decision. You are not to be informed, Athenians, that the reputation of our country must be such as theirs who receive its honours. And surely it must be scandalous to stand in the same point of view, not with our ancestors, but with the unmanly baseness of Demosthenes.

How then may such infamy be avoided? By guarding against those, who affect the language of patriotism and public spirit, but whose real characters are traitorous. Loyalty and the love of liberty, are words that lie ready for every man. And they are more prompt to seize them, whose actions are the most repugnant to such principles. Whenever, therefore, you have found a man solicitous for foreign crowns, and proclamations of honours, granted by the Greeks, oblige him to have recourse to that conduct which the law prescribes; to found his pretensions and proclamations on the true basis, the integrity of his life, and the exact regulation of his manners. Should he not produce this evidence of his merit, refuse your sanction to his honours; support the freedom of your constitution which is now falling from you. Can you reflect without indignation, that our senate and our

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assembly are neglected with contempt, while letters and deputations are sent to private houses, not from inferior personages, but from the highest potentates in Asia and in Europe, and for purposes declared capital by the laws? That there are men who are at no pains to conceal their part in such transactions; who avow it in the presence of the people; who openly compare the letters; some of whom direct you to turn your eyes on them, as the guardians of their constitution; others demand public honours as the saviours of their country? While the people, reduced by a series of dispiriting events, as it were to a state of dotage, or ~~struck with infatuation~~, regard only the name of freedom, but resign all real power into the hands of others. So that you retire from the assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment, where each man hath paid his club, and received his share.

THAT this is a serious truth, let me offer something to convince you. There was a man (it grieves me to dwell so often on the misfortunes of the state) of a private station, who, for the bare attempt of making a voyage to Samos, was, as a traitor to his country, put instantly to death by the council of Areopagus. Another private man, whose timid spirit, unable to support the general consternation, had driven him to Rhodes, was not long since impeached, and escaped only by the equality of voices: had but one vote more been given for his condemnation, banishment or death must have been his fate. To these let us oppose the case now before

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us. A popular orator, the cause of all our calamities, is found guilty of desertion in the field. This man claims a crown, and asserts his right to the honour of a proclamation. And shall not this wretch, the common pest of Greece, be driven from our borders? or shall we not seize and drag to execution this public plunderer, whose harangues enable him to steer his piratical course through our government? Think on this critical season, in which you are to give your voices. In a few days, the Pythian games are to be celebrated, and the convention of Grecian states to be collected. There shall our state be severely censured, on account of the late measures of Demosthenes. Should you crown him, you must be deemed accessaries to those who violated the general peace. If, on the contrary, you reject the demand, you will clear the state from all imputation. Weigh this clause maturely, as the interest not of a foreign state, but of your own: and do not lavish your honours inconsiderately: confer them with a scrupulous delicacy; and let them be the distinctions of exalted worth and merit. Nor be contented to hear, but look round you, where your own interest is so intimately concerned, and see who are the men that support Demosthenes. Are they his former companions in the chase, his associates in the manly exercises of his youth? No, by the Olympian God; he never was employed in rousing the wild boar, or in any such exercises as render the body vigorous: he was solely engaged in the sordid arts of fraud and circumvention.

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256 AND, let not his arrogance escape your attention when he tells you, that, by his embassy, he wrested Byzantium from the hands of Philip; that his eloquence prevailed on the Acarnanians to revolt; his eloquence transported the souls of the Thebans. He thinks that you are sunk to such a degree of weakness, that he may prevail on you to believe that you harbour the very genius of persuasion in your city, and not a vile sycophant. And, when at the conclusion of his defence, he calls up his accomplices in corruption as his advocates, then imagine that we see the great benefactors of your country, in this place from whence I speak, arrayed against the villainy of those men: Solon, the man who adorned our free constitution with the noblest laws, the philosopher, the renowned legislator, entreating you, with that decent gravity which distinguished his character, by no means to pay a greater regard to the speeches of Demosthenes, than to your oaths and laws: Aristides, who was suffered to prescribe to the Greeks their several subsidies, whose daughters received their portions from the people at his decease; roused to indignation at this insult on public justice, and asking, whether you are not ashamed that, when your fathers banished Arthmius[a] the Zelian, who brought in gold from Persia; when they were scarcely restrained from killing a man connected with the people in the most sacred ties, and, by public proclamation, forbade him to appear in Athens, or in any part of the Athenian

[a] *Arthmius*, &c. See note [a], p. 190, vol. i. on Philipp. 3.

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259 territory,—yet you are going to crown Demosthenes with a golden crown, who did not bring in gold from Persia, but received bribes himself, and still possesses them. And, can you imagine but that Themistocles, and those who fell at Marathon, and those who died at Platæa, and the very sepulchres of our ancestors, must groan, if you confer a crown on this man, who confessedly united with the barbarians against the Greeks?

And, now, bear witness for me, thou Earth, thou Sun, O Virtue and Intelligence, and thou, O Erudition, which teachest us the just distinction between vice and goodness, I have stood up, I have spoken in the cause of justice. If I have supported my prosecution with a dignity befitting its importance, I have spoken as my wishes dictated; if too deficiently,—as my abilities admitted. Let what hath now been offered, and what your own thoughts must supply, be duly weighed, and pronounce such a sentence as justice and the interests of the state demand.

END OF THE ORATION OF ÆSCHINES AGAINST CTESIPHON.

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THE

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OF

DEMOSTHENES

ON THE

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THE ORATION

OF

DEMOSTHENES

ON THE

CROWN.

In the first place, ye men of Athens, I make my prayer to all the powers of heaven, that such affection as I have ever invariably discovered to this state and all its citizens, YOU now may entertain for ME, upon this present trial. And, (what concerns you nearly, what essentially concerns your religion and your honour,)—that the gods may so dispose your minds, as to permit me to proceed in my defence, not as directed by my adversary, (that would be severe indeed!) but by the laws, and by your oath; in which, to all the other equitable clauses, we find this expressly added—EACH PARTY SHALL HAVE EQUAL AUDIENCE. This imports not merely, that you shall not prejudge, not merely that the same impartiality shall be shewn to both; but still farther, that the contending parties shall each be left

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at full liberty to arrange[a], and to conduct his pleading, as his choice or judgment may determine.

In many instances hath Æschines the entire advantage in this cause. Two there are of more especial moment. First, as to our interests in the contest, we are on terms utterly unequal; for they are by no means points of equal import, for me to be deprived of your affections, and for him to be defeated in his prosecution. As to me—but, when I am entering on my defence, let me suppress every thing ominous, sensible as I must be of this the advantage of my adversary.—In the next place, such is the natural disposition of mankind, that invective and accusation are heard with pleasure, while they who speak their own praises are received with impatience. His, then, is the part which commands a favourable acceptance; that

[a] *To arrange*, &c. This is a liberty the orator hath accordingly assumed, and most artfully and happily. Under the pretence of guarding against all prepossessions, he first enters into a full detail of public affairs, and sets his own services in the fairest point of view. Having thus gained the hearts of his hearers, then he ventures on the points of law relative to his accounts, &c. And these he soon dismisses, with an affected contempt of his adversary, and a perfect confidence in the merits of his own cause. Then come his objections to the character of the prosecutor, which naturally led him round again to the history of his own administration, the point on which he chiefly relied; and where he had the finest occasions of displaying his own merits, and of loading Æschines and his adherents with the heaviest imputations, as traitors to the state, and malicious enemies to those who were distinguished by their zeal in support of her rights and dignity.

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which must prove offensive to every single hearer is reserved for me. If, to guard against this disadvantage, I should decline all mention of my own actions, I know not by what means I could refute the charge, or establish my pretensions to this honour. If, on the other hand, I enter into a detail of my whole conduct, private and political, I must be obliged to speak perpetually of myself. Here, then, I shall endeavour to preserve all possible moderation; and, what the circumstances of the case necessarily extort from me must, in justice, be imputed to him who first moved a prosecution so extraordinary.

I PRESUME, ye judges, ye will all acknowledge, 5
that in this cause Ctesiphon and I are equally concerned; that it calls for my attention no less than his. For, in every case, it is grievous and severe to be deprived of our advantages; and especially when they are wrested from us by an enemy. But to be deprived of your favour and affections, is a misfortune the most severe, as these are advantages the most important. And if such be the object of the 6
present contest, I hope, and it is my general request to this tribunal, that, while I endeavour to defend myself fairly and equitably, against this charge, ye will hear me as the laws direct, those laws, which their first author, SOLON, the man so tender of our interests, so true a friend to liberty, secured, not by enacting only, but by the additional provision of that oath imposed on you, ye judges, not, as I con- 7
ceive, from any suspicion of your integrity, but

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from a clear conviction, that, as the prosecutor, who is first to speak, hath the advantage of loading his adversary with invectives and calumnies, the defendant could not possibly prevail against them, unless each of you, who are to pronounce sentence, should, with a reverend attention to that duty which you owe to heaven, favourably admit the just defence of him who is to answer, vouchsafe an impartial and equal audience to both parties, and thus form your decision, on all that hath been urged by both.

§ As I am, on this day, to enter into an exact detail of all my conduct, both in private life, and in my public administration, here permit me to repeat those supplications to the gods with which I first began, and, in your presence, to offer up my prayers, first, that I may be received by you, on this occasion, with the same affection which I have ever felt for this state and all its citizens; and, in the next place, that heaven may direct your minds to that determination which shall prove most conducive to the general honour of all, and most exactly consonant to the religious engagements of each individual.

9 Had Æschines confined his accusation to those points only on which he founded his impeachment, I too should have readily proceeded to support the *legality* of the decree. But, as he hath been no less copious upon other subjects, as he hath pressed me with various allegations, most of them the grossest

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falsehoods, I deem it neceſſary, and it is but just that I first speak a few words of these, that none of you may be influenced by matters foreign to the cause, and no prepossessions conceived against me when I come to the chief point of my defence.

10 As to all that scandalous abuse which he hath vented against my private character, mark, on what a plain and equitable issue I rest the whole. If you know me to be such a man as he alleges, (for I am no stranger, my life hath been spent among you,) suffer me not to speak, no, though my public administration may have had the most transcendent merit; rise up at once, and pronounce my condemnation. But if you have ever esteemed, if you have known me to be much superior to him, of a family more reputable; inferior to no citizen of common rank, either in character or birth, (to say more might seem arrogant and offensive,) then let him be denied all confidence in other matters; for here is a plain proof that he hath equally been false in all; and let me be now favoured with the same regard which I have experienced on many former trials.—Yes, Æschines! depraved as is your heart, 11 your understanding here appears equally depraved! To imagine that I could be diverted from the account of all my political transactions, by turning aside to these your personal scurrilities: I shall not proceed thus: I am not not so infatuated; no, I shall first examine all that falsehood and virulence with which you have loaded my administration; and then proceed to those calumnies with which

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he hath so licentiously abused my private character, if this audience can endure the odious detail.

12 [a]To proceed then to the articles on which I am accused. These are many and grievous; some of that kind, against which the laws denounce severe, nay the utmost, punishments. But the whole scheme of this prosecution discovers all the rancour of enmity, all the extravagance, and virulence, and insolence of malice; which, I call the gods to witness, is neither right, nor constitutional, nor just.
13 True it is, that no man should be denied the privilege of appearing and speaking before the people; but this privilege never should be perverted to the purposes of animosity and envy. *Yet thus hath he abused it.* For, had he really been witness of my crimes against the state, and of crimes so heinous, as he hath now set forth with such theatrical solemnity, he might have resorted to the legal punishments, while the facts were recent; had he seen me acting so as to merit an impeachment, he might
14 have impeached; had I proposed illegal decrees, he might in due form have accused me of illegal decrees; or whatever other crimes his malice hath now falsely urged against me, whatever other instances of guilt he had discovered in my conduct; there are laws against them all, there are punishments, there are legal forms of procedure, which might have condemned me to the severest penalties.

[a] In the common editions of the original, this whole passage is embarrassed and confused. The translator hath followed the arrangement of Dr. TAYLOR.

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Here was his resource. And did it appear that he had proceeded thus, that he had thus embraced the legal advantages against me, then had he been consistent in the present prosecution. But now, as he 15
hath deviated from the regular and equitable method; as he hath declined all attempts to convict me, while the facts were recent; and, after so long an interval, hath collected such an heap of calumny of ribaldry and scandal; it is evident he but acts a part; while I am the person really accused, he affects the form of proceeding only against this man: while, on the very face of the prosecution, there appears a malicious design against me, he dares not point his malice at the real object, but labours to 16
destroy the reputation of another. So that, to all the other arguments obvious to be urged, with all the force of truth, in defence of Ctesiphon, I might fairly add one more: That, whatever be our particular quarrels, justice requires that they should be discussed between ourselves; that we ourselves, I say, should support the contest, and not seek for some innocent victim to sacrifice to our animosities. This is the severest injustice. No! he cannot pursue Ctesiphon on my account; and that he hath not directed his impeachment against me can proceed but from a consciousness that such impeachment could not be supported.

Here then I may rest my cause, as it is natural 17
to conclude from what hath now been offered, that all the several articles of his accusation must be equally unjust, and equally devoid of truth. But

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it is my purpose to examine them distinctly, one by one; and especially his injurious falsehoods relative to the PEACE and EMBASSY, where he would transfer the guilt of those actions upon me, which he himself committed, in conjunction with Philocrates. And here, my fellow-citizens, it is necessary, nor is it foreign to the purpose, to recall to your remembrance the state of our affairs in those times, that, together with each conjuncture, ye may have a clear view of each particular transaction.

AT that period, then, when the Phocian war broke out, (not by my means, for I had no share in public business at that time,) such were, in the first place, the dispositions of this state, that we wished the safety of the Phocians, although we saw the injustice of their conduct; and what calamity soever the Thebans might have suffered would have given us pleasure, as we were incensed, and not without reason and justice, against this people: indeed they had not used their success at Leuctra with moderation. Then Peloponnesus was all divided: those who hated the Lacedemonians were not strong enough to destroy them; nor could the governors, appointed by Lacedemon, maintain their authority in the several cities: but they, and all, were every where involved in desperate contention and disorder. PHILIP, perceiving this, (for it was no secret) and lavishing his gold on the traitors in the several states, aided the confusion, and inflamed them still more violently against each other. Thus did he contrive to make the faults and errors of other men

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subservient to his own interests, so as to rise to that height of power which threatened all Greece. And now, when men began to sink under the calamity of a long-protracted war; when the then insolent, but now unhappy Thebans, were on the point of being compelled, in the face of Greece, to fly to you for protection; Philip, to prevent this, to keep the states from uniting, promised a peace to you; to them a reinforcement. What was it, then, which so far conspired with his designs, that you fell into the snare by an error almost voluntary? The cowardice shall I call it? Or the ignorance of the other Greeks? Or rather a combination of both? Who, while you were maintaining a tedious and incessant war, and this in the common cause, (as was evident in fact) never once provided for your support, either by money, or by troops, or by any assistance whatever. This conduct you received with a just and a becoming resentment, and readily listened to the overtures of Philip. Hence were you prevailed on to grant the peace, not by any promises of mine, as he hath falsely asserted. And it must appear, upon a fair examination, that the iniquity and corruption of these men, in the course of that treaty, have been the real cause of all our present difficulties. But I shall now proceed to a faithful and exact detail of this whole transaction; conscious, that, if any instances of guilt ever so heinous should appear in it, not one can be fairly charged on me.

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THE first who[a] ever moved or mentioned a peace was Aristodemus the player. The man who seconded his instances, and proposed the decree, and who, with him, had hired out his services on this occasion, was Philocrates, *your* accomplice, Æschines, not *mine:* no! though you roar out your falsehoods till you burst.—They who united with them in support of this measure, (from what motives I shall not now inquire) were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had no part in it at all. And though this be really the fact, though it be proved by the evidence of truth itself, yet so abandoned is he to all sense of shame, as to dare not only to assert that I was the author of this peace, but that I prevented the state from concluding it in conjunction with the general assembly of the Greeks.——O thou—by what name can I properly call thee? When thou wert present, when thou sawest me depriving the state of an interest so important, a conjunction of such moment, as thou now describest with so much pomp, didst thou express thy indignation? Didst thou rise up, to explain, to enforce, that guilt of which thou now accusest me? And, had Philip purchased this my important service of preventing the union of the Greeks, surely it was not thy part to be silent, but to cry aloud, to testify, to inform these thy fellow-citizens. But this was never done: thy voice was never once heard on this

[a] *The first who,* &c. The particulars of this whole negociation are related at large in the third book of the History of the Life of Philip.

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occasion.—And, in fact, no embassy was at that time sent to any of the Grecian states: they had all discovered their sentiments long before; such is the absurdity of his assertions. And, what is still worse, these his falsehoods are principally directed against the honour of our state. For, if you called on the other Greeks to take up arms, and at the same time sent out your ministers to Philip to treat for peace, this was the act of an Eurybatus, not the part of this city, not the procedure of honest men. But this is not the fact: no! For what purpose could ye have sent to them at that period? For a peace? They were all at peace. For a war? We were then actually deliberating about the treaty. Upon the whole, therefore, it doth not appear that I was at all the agent, or at all the author of this first peace: nor can he produce the least reasonable evidence to support those other falsehoods he hath urged against me.

Again, from the time when this state had agreed to peace, examine fairly what course of conduct each of us adopted. Thus you will clearly see who was Philip's agent upon every occasion; who acted for you, and sought the real interest of his country.

I, on my part, proposed a decree in the senate, that our ambassadors should embark, with all expedition, for such place as they were informed was the present residence of Philip, and receive his oaths of ratification. But they, even after my decree had

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passed, declined to pay the due obedience.—And here, Athenians! I must explain the import and moment of this my decree. It was the interest of Philip, that the interval between our acceding and his swearing to the treaty should be as long, yours, that it should be as short, as possible. And why? You had abandoned all warlike preparations, not only from the day when you had sworn to the peace, but from the moment you had first conceived an expectation of it: he, on the contrary, redoubled his attention to all military affairs, through the whole intervening period; concluding, (and it proved a just conclusion,) that whatever places he could wrest from us, previously to his oaths of ratification, he might retain them all securely, and that no one could think of rescinding the treaty upon that account. This I foresaw; I weighed it maturely, and hence proposed this decree, that they should repair to Philip, and receive his oaths, with all expedition; that so he should be obliged to ratify the treaty, while the Thracians, your allies, yet kept possession of those places, the object of this man's ridicule, Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergyskè: not that Philip, by seizing such of them as were most convenient to his purposes, should become master of all Thrace; not that he should acquire vast treasures; not that he should gain large reinforcements, and thus execute all his future schemes with ease.——Here is a decree which Æschines hath never mentioned, never quoted. But, because I moved in the senate, that the ambassadors of Macedon should be introduced,

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he inveighs against me as highly criminal. What should I have done? Was I to move, that they should not be introduced? The men who came purposely to treat with us? Was I to forbid, that any seats should be appointed for them in the theatre? Why, they might have purchased seats at the common trifling price! Was I to show my concern for Athens by such minute savings, while, like him and his accomplices, I sold our capital interests to Philip? No!——Take my decree, which he, though well acquainted with it, hath passed over in silence.—Read!

The Decree.

" In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the nine-
" teenth day of the month Ecatombæon, the Pan-
" dionian tribe presiding,—Demosthenes, son of
" Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe, proposed the
" following decree:

" Whereas Philip, by his ambassadors sent to
" Athens to confer about a peace, hath agreed and
" concluded on the terms: it is resolved by the
" senate and people of Athens, in order to the final
" execution of this treaty, agreeably to the resolu-
" tions and conventions of a former assembly, that
" five ambassadors be chosen from the community
" of Athens: which ambassadors thus chosen shall
" depart, and without delay, repair to such place
" as they shall be informed is the place of Philip's
" residence, and, with all possible expedition,

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"mutually receive and take the oaths necessary for "ratification of the treaty concluded, as aforesaid, "with the people of Athens, including the allies "on each side.—The persons chosen into this "commission are Eubulus, Æschines, Cephisophon, "Democrates, and Cleon."

30 When, by this decree, I had approved my attachment to the state, not to the interests of Philip, our excellent ambassadors sat down in perfect indifference, three whole months, in Macedon, although, within the space of ten, or rather of three or four days, they might have arrived at the Hellespont, tendered the oaths, and thus saved the towns before he had reduced them.—For, he would not have attempted the least hostility in our presence; or, if he had, we might have refused his ratification, and disappointed his hopes of peace: for, he could not have enjoyed both; a peace and his conquests also.

31 Such was the first instance of Philip's artifice in this negociation, and of the corruption of these wicked men; for which I then denounced, and now, and ever must, denounce perpetual war and opposition against these enemies of Heaven.—I proceed to point out another, and a still more flagrant instance of iniquity.—When Philip had, in 32 due form, acceded to the treaty, having first possessed himself of Thrace, by means of those ministers who refused obedience to my decree, he bribed them once again not to depart from Macedon, until he had completed his armament against

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the Phocians; lest a fair report of his designs and preparations should prompt you to issue forth, steer your course to Thermopylæ, as on a former[a] occasion; and block up the streights of Eubœa with your navy. He resolved that the news of his preparations, and his passage through the streights, should arrive together. And such were his apprehensions, such the violence of his terror, lest, when he had gained the streights, before he had completed the destruction of Phocis, ye should be informed of his motions, resolve to assist this state, and thus defeat his grand design; that he again bribed this wretch, not in conjunction with the other deputies, but now apart, and by himself, to make such representations, and to give you such assurances, as effectually ruined all our interests. 33

And here, my fellow-citizens, I desire, I beseech you to bear in mind, through the whole course of this dispute, that, if Æschines had urged nothing against me foreign to his cause, I too should have confined myself to the great point in contest. But as he hath recurred to every charge, every invective which malice could suggest, it becomes necessary for me to make some short reply to all the several crimes alleged against me. 34

What then were the declarations which he made at this juncture, and which proved so fatal to our interests? That you ought not to be violently 35

[a] *As on a former*, &c. See the Introduction to Philippic I.

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alarmed at Philip's passage through the streights; that the event would answer to your most sanguine wishes, if you but continued quiet; that in two or three days you should hear, that he had entered into strict friendship with those who seemed the object of his hostilities, and that he had become their enemy, with whom he now united. "For it "is not words," said he, in all the solemnity of language, "that form the strict band of friendship, "but a similarity of interests. And it is equally "the interest of all, of Philip, of the Phocians, and "of Athens, to be relieved from the insolence and "stupidity of the Thebans."—And what were the immediate consequences? The unhappy Phocians were speedily destroyed, and their cities razed to their foundations: you who had relied on his assurances, and continued quiet, were shortly obliged to leave your lands desolate, and collect your property within these walls, while he received his gold. And, still further, the inveterate hatred of the Thebans and Thessalians fell, with all its weight, on Athens, while Philip's conduct was attended with applause and popularity. To prove these things, read the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter received from Philip. They both confirm the truth of my assertions.—Read!

The Decree.

"In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the "twenty-first day of the month of Mæmacterion, "in an assembly extraordinary, convened by au-

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" thority of the generals, prytanes, and senate, at " the motion of Callisthenes, it is

" RESOLVED,

" THAT no citizen of Athens be permitted, on " any pretence whatever, to pass the night in the " country: but that every man shall confine him- " self within the city, or the precincts of the Piræus, " excepting only such persons as may be appointed " to the defence of some post. That every such " person shall be obliged to maintain his station, " without presuming to absent himself, either by " night or day. That whoever refuses to pay due " obedience to this resolution and decree, shall in- " cur the penalties ordained for traitors, unless he " can allege some necessary cause, to be approved " of by the general immediately in command, the " treasurer, and the secretary of the senate, who " shall have the sole power of judging of such " allegations. That all effects now in the country " shall be instantly removed; those within the " distance of hundred and twenty stadia, into the " city or Piræus: those at any greater distance, to " Eleusis, Phylè, Aphidna, Rhamnusium, and Su- " nium."

WERE these the hopes which induced you to conclude the peace? Were these the promises, with which this hireling amused you?—Now read the letter soon afterwards received from Philip.

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The Letter.

"PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and "people of Athens, health.

"KNOW ye that we have passed the streights of "Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis. We have "stationed our garrisons in such towns as have "submitted and acknowledged our authority. "Those which have presumed to resist our force, "we have taken by assault, reduced the inhabi- "tants to slavery, and razed their habitations to "the ground. But, being informed that you are "making dispositions for the support of these "people, we, by these presents, recommend to you "to spare yourselves the pains of such an ineffec- "tual attempt. Your conduct must certainly ap- "pear extremely inequitable and extravagant, in "arming against us, with whom you have so lately "concluded a treaty. If you have determined "to show no regard to your engagements, we shall "only wait for the commencement of hostilities, to "exert a resolution on our part, no less vigorous "and formidable."

40 YOU hear how he announces his intention in this letter: how explicitly he declares to his allies, "I "have taken these measures in despite of the Athe- "nians, and to their eternal mortification. If ye are "wise then, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will re- "gard them as enemies, and submit to me with an

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"entire confidence." These are not his words indeed; but thus he would gladly be understood. And by these means did he acquire such an absolute dominion over their affections, that, blind and insensible to all consequences, they suffered him to execute the utmost schemes of his ambition. Hence, all the calamities which the wretched Thebans experience at this day. While he, who was the great 41
agent and coadjutor in procuring this implicit confidence; he who in this place uttered his falsehoods, and deceived you by his flattering assurances; he it is who affects a deep concern at the misfortunes of Thebes, who displays them in such pathetic terms; although he himself be the real author both of these and the calamities of Phocis, and of all others which the Greeks have suffered. Yes, Æschines, you must be affected deeply with these events, you must indeed feel compassion for the Thebans: you who have acquired possessions in Bœotia, you who enjoy the fruits of their lands: and I must surely rejoice at their misery; I who was instantly demanded by the man who had inflicted it.

But I have been led insensibly to some particu- 42
lars, which I may shortly introduce with more propriety. I now return to the proof of my assertion, that the corruption and iniquity of these men have been the real cause of our present difficulties.—— When Philip had contrived to deceive you so effectually, by means of those who, during their embassy, had sold themselves to this prince, and never

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reported one word of truth to your assemblies: when the wretched Phocians also had been betrayed, and their cities levelled with the ground;
43 —what followed? The miscreant Thessalians and the stupid Thebans regarded Philip as their friend, their benefactor, their saviour: he was every thing with them: nor could they bear a word which tended to oppose these sentiments. On your part, although ye looked with a just suspicion on the progress of affairs, although ye felt the utmost indignation, yet still ye adhered to the treaty: for it was not possible to act, single as ye were. The other Greeks too, equally abused with you, and equally disappointed in their hopes, were yet determined to the same pacific conduct, though Philip,
44 in effect, had long since made war upon them. For when, in the circuit of his expedition, he had destroyed the Illyrians, and the Triballians, and even some Grecian states; when a certain set of men had seized the opportunity of a peace, issued forth from the several cities, and, repairing to Macedon, had there received his bribes, (of which number Æschines was one) then were the real objects of his hostilities discovered, and then was the attack made on the several states. Whether they yet perceived this attack, or no, is another question, a question
45 which concerns not me: I was ever violent in forewarning, in denouncing the danger here, and in every place to which I was deputed. But, in fact, the states were all unsound. Those who had the conduct and administration of affairs, had been gained by gold: while their private citizens and

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popular assemblies were either blind to all consequences, or caught by the fatal bait of temporary ease and quiet. And such was the general infatuation that each community conceived, that they alone were to be exempted from the common calamity, nay, that they could derive their own security from the public danger. To this I must impute it, that the many found their inordinate and ill-timed indolence exchanged for slavery: while their statesmen, who imagined that they were selling every thing but themselves, found at length that they had first sold themselves. Instead of friends and guests (so were they styled, while they were receiving their bribes) now, are they called flatterers, enemies to Heaven, and every other odious name so justly merited. For it is not the interest of the traitor that is at all regarded by the man who bribes him; nor, when the purchased service hath been once obtained, is the traitor ever admitted into his future confidence. If he were, no man could be happier than the traitor. But this is not the case, my fellow-citizens! How should it? No! impossible! When the votary of ambition hath once obtained his object, he also becomes master of his vile agents: and, as he knows their baseness, then, then he detests them, he keeps them at a wary distance; he spurns them from him. Reflect on former events: their time indeed is passed: but men of sense may always find a time to derive instruction from them. Lasthenes was called the friend of Philip, until he had betrayed Olynthus; Timolaüs, until he had destroyed the Thebans; Eudicus and Simo, until

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they had given him the dominion of Thessaly; then were they driven away with scorn, then were they loaded with every kind of wretchedness; and traitors in disgrace were dispersed through the whole nation. How was Aristratus received at Sicyon? How Perilaus at Megara? Are they not in abject infamy? And, hence, it evidently appears, that he who is most vigilant in defence of his country, and most zealous in his opposition to such men, is really a friend to you, Æschines, and your venal, traitorous faction, (as his conduct makes it necessary to bribe you;) and that your safety and your gains depend entirely on the number of such patriots, and their obstinate aversion to your counsels. If left to yourselves, ye must have long since perished.

50 And now, as to the transactions of those times, I might say more; but I have already said what I deem more than sufficient. To him must it be imputed, who hath disgorged all the foulness of his own iniquity upon me, which it was necessary to wipe away, for the sake of those who were born since the events I speak of. To you, ye Judges, the detail must be tedious and disgusting. Before I had uttered one word, you were well informed of his prostitution. He calls it friendship and intimate connection. Thus hath he just now expressed it.—"He who reproaches me with the intimacy of "Alexander!" I reproach thee with the intimacy of Alexander! How could'st thou obtain it? How could'st thou aspire to it? I could never call thee

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the friend of Philip; no, nor the intimate of Alexander. I am not so mad. Unless we are to call those menial servants, who labour for their wages, the friends and intimates of those who hire them. But, how can this be? Impossible! No! I formerly called you the hireling of Philip; I now call you the hireling of Alexander; and so do all these our fellow-citizens. If you doubt it, ask them; or I shall ask them for you. Ye citizens of Athens, do you account Æschines the hireling, or the intimate of Alexander? You hear their answer[a].

I NOW proceed to my defence against the several articles of his impeachment, and to the particulars of my ministerial conduct, that Æschines, (although 53

[a] *You hear their answer.* Commentators seem surprised at the boldness and the success of this appeal. Some tell us, that the speaker was hurried into the hazardous question by his impetuosity. Some, that his friend Menander was the only person who returned the answer he desired. Others, again, that he pronounced falsely on purpose, and that the assembly intended but to correct his pronunciation, when they echoed back the word Μισθωτος, *hireling*.—But the truth is, he was too much interested in the present contest, to suffer him to be *really* transported beyond the strictest bounds of prudence and caution; he was too well supported to rely upon a single voice, if such could be at all heard in the assembly; and he had too much good sense to recur to a ridiculous and childish artifice. The assembly, to which he addressed himself, was of a quite different kind from one of our modern courts of law, where order and decorum are maintained. The audience were not at all concerned to suppress the emotions raised in them by the speaker. And Demosthenes had a large party present, who, he was well assured, would return the proper answer loudly.

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he knows them well,) may hear the reasons on which I justly claim the honour of this decree, and might claim still greater honours.——Take the impeachment.—Read it.

The Impeachment.

" In the archonship of Chærondas, on the sixth " day of the month Elaphæbolion, Æschines, son " of Atrometus, of the Cothocidian tribe, IM- " PEACHED Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, of the " Anaphlystian tribe, before the archon, of a VIO- " LATION OF THE LAWS.

" FORASMUCH as he hath been author of an " ILLEGAL DECREE, importing, that a GOLDEN " CROWN should be conferred on Demosthenes, " son of Demosthenes, of the Pæanian tribe; and, " that proclamation should be made in the theatre, " during the grand festival of Bacchus, and the ex- " hibition of the new tragedies, that the people of " Athens had conferred this golden crown upon " the said Demosthenes, on account of his virtue, " and affectionate attachment to Greece in general, " and to Athens in particular; as also, on account " of that magnanimity and steady zeal in speaking " and acting for the interests of this state, which " he hath ever discovered, and still discovers, upon " every occasion, to the utmost of his power.—— " All which clauses are false, and repugnant to our " laws. As it is enacted,

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" FIRST, that no man shall enter false allega-
" tions into our public acts.

" SECONDLY, that no man, yet accountable for
" any office of trust shall receive a crown; where-
" as, Demosthenes was director of the fortifications,
" and manager of the theatrical funds.

" LASTLY, that no CROWN shall be proclaimed
" in the theatre during the festival, or dramatic
" entertainments, but in the senate-house, if the
" CROWN be granted by the senate; if by the com-
" mons, in the Pnyx, and in full assembly.

" THE penalty[a], fifty talents. The agents[b], Ce-
" phisophon and Cleon."

HERE, you have the several articles of the decree, on which he founds his prosecution. And on these very articles I mean to rest the justice of my cause. I shall take them in the order of this impeachment, and speak to them one by one, without any voluntary omission.—As to the clause of " that steady

[a] *The penalty*, &c. The damages, if we may so call them, were laid at such a vast sum as Ctesiphon, if condemned, could by no means discharge: in which case he must have been banished or branded with infamy: and Demosthenes must probably have shared the same fate: against whom, no doubt Æschines would have immediately commenced a second prosecution, with the fairest prospect of success.

[b] *The agents*, &c. These were usually some friends of the contending party, who were employed in summoning the accused, citing witnesses, and other matters of form and legal procedure.

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" zeal in speaking and acting for the interest of " this state, which I have ever discovered, and still " discover, upon every occasion, to the utmost of " my power," and the honours appointed to me, on this account, the decision must depend on my ministerial conduct. From this conduct, duly considered, it will appear, whether Ctesiphon hath adhered to truth and propriety in these assertions, or whether they be false.—As to the omission of conferring the crown *when my accounts of office should be first passed*, and the appointment of the theatre as the place of proclamation; these points too might be determined by my administration, this might decide whether I be worthy of such an honour and such a publication. Yet I deem it incumbent on me to produce the laws, by which these clauses are fully warranted. So upright, and so plain, is the scheme of my defence.

I PROCEED, then, to the particular measures of my administration. And let no man think that I am suspending the discussion of this cause, if I enter into the affairs and counsels of Greece. He who hath attacked this assertion, that " I have ever " spoken and acted for the general interest;" he who expressly accuses it of falsehood; he it is, who makes the account of all my public conduct, all my whole system of administration, immediately pertinent and necessary to this suit. Besides, among the different departments of those who engage in public business, mine was of that nature which attached me more immediately to the interests of

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Greece. From these I must, therefore, be allowed to deduce my evidence.

As to those conquests and acquisitions which Philip had obtained, before I had engaged in the administration, before my appearance as a popular leader, I shall pass them over; for they, by no means, (as I conceive,) affect the merits of my cause. As to those various instances in which he found his ambition most effectually restrained, from the very day on which I first entered upon public business, these shall I recall to your thoughts, and freely submit to your judgments. But let this be first premised: One advantage did our adversary enjoy, and this (my fellow-citizens!) of great importance. It was the unhappy fortune of the several Grecian states, not of some only, but equally of all, to supply so vast a provision of traitors, of hirelings, of men devoted by the gods, as was not known in the memory of man. These did Philip engage as his agents and co-adjutors, and, by their means, inflamed the animosities which had already torn and distracted the Greeks. Some he deceived; some he gained by bribes, on others he employed all his engines of seduction; and thus rent the nation into many different parties, although all were alike engaged in one common cause, that of uniting against the progress of his power. In such a general dissension of the Grecian states, in such a general blindness both to the present, and to the rising evil, consider, Athenians, what were the measures, what was the conduct which became this state? And for

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these let me be brought to a strict account: for, I am the man who advised and directed them.

SAY then, Æschines, was it our part, in despite of every generous sentiment, every consideration of our dignity, to have taken our station with the Thessalians and Dolopians, to have ranged ourselves on the side of Philip, in order to subvert the dominion of the Greeks, the honours and the conquests of our ancestors? Or, if we were to reject such conduct, (and surely none could be more shameful) was it our part, ours, who had foreseen, who seemed perfectly convinced of the consequences which must arise, unless seasonably prevented, to have proved indifferent spectators, when these consequences had really arisen? Yes! I would gladly ask the man, who appears most severe in his censure of our measures, what, in his opinion, was our proper part. Was it the part of those, who were the immediate cause of all the misfortunes and calamities which fell upon the Greeks, as the Thessalians and their associates? Or of those who affected an indifference to all events from views of private interest, as the Arcadians, the Messenians, and the Argives?—And yet most of these have, in the event, proved greater sufferers than we.

I SHALL suppose that, after Philip had made all his conquests, he had retired to his kingdom, and there lived in peace, without attempting to molest either his own allies or the other Greeks. Even in this case, some share of censure and reproach

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must have fallen on those who had refused to arm against him. But when his assaults were equally directed against the dignity, the sovereignty, and the liberty of our whole nation; nay, against the very being of those states more immediately exposed to his power; what measures could have been devised more glorious than those which you embraced, and I suggested?

But let me not wander from my point. What conduct, Æschines, did the dignity of this state demand, when we beheld Philip aiming at the conquest and sovereignty of Greece? Or what advice should I, her counsellor, have given, what resolutions should I have proposed, and this, in an assembly of Athenians, the circumstance of most importance? I who well knew, that, from earliest times, down to the very day on which I first spoke in public, my country had been incessantly contending for pre-eminence, for honour and renown? had expended more blood and treasure, for glory and the interests of Greece, than all the other Grecian states ever had expended for their several private interests? I, who saw this very prince, with whom we fought for power and empire, with one eye torn out, his neck dislocated, pierced in his arm, maimed in his leg, freely and cheerfully resigning any part of his body which fortune pleased to take, so that he might enjoy the rest with renown and glory? And let no man presume to say that such elevated sentiments became him who was bred at Pella, (a place at that time ignoble and

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obscure) as to aspire to the sovereignty of Greece, or to entertain a thought of such a daring purpose; and yet, that you, the citizens of Athens, you who in every assembly, in every theatrical entertainment, find perpetual memorials of the virtue of your ancestors, might descend to such abject meanness, as to resign the liberty of Greece, freely and voluntarily, into the hands of Philip. No! let not the presumptuous assertion be once heard.

The only course then left, and the necessary course, was this, to defend your just rights against all his injurious attempts. This course did you instantly pursue, with good reason, and becoming dignity. And, in this, I was your counsellor, I was the first mover, during my administration. I confess it. And how should I have acted? Say, Æschines: I call on you.—Let all former transactions be forgotten: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonesus, I speak not of them. Serrium and Doriscum too, and the storming of Peparethus, and all the other instances in which the state was injured; let the memory of them be effaced. You say, indeed, that I dwelt invidiously upon them, in order to embroil my country in a war: although the decrees respecting these several places were proposed by Eubulus, and Aristophon, and Diopithes: not by me. No, thou prompt slanderer! nor do I now dwell upon them. But when he had deprived us of Eubœa, when he had erected his fortress to command our whole territory, when he had attacked the Megareans, and possessed himself of Oreum, and

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razed Porthmus; when he had distributed his governors through the cities, established Philistides in Oreum; Clitarchus, in Eretria; when he had reduced the whole Hellespont to his obedience, and laid siege to Byzantium; when the Grecian cities had, some of them, been subverted by his arms, others forced to receive their exiles; in these instances did he act unjustly? did he violate the treaty, or did he not? Was it incumbent on some state to rise up against these attempts, or was it not? If not; if Greece was to have proved a prey for Mysians[a], (according to the proverb) and this, while Athens yet existed, and was witness of her fall; then was I officious in remonstrating against these transactions; then was the state officious in yielding to my remonstrances: mine was then the guilt and error of every measure we pursued. But, if the progress of his arms demanded a vigorous opposition, what community but that of Athens should have risen at the call of honour?—This was the great principle of my administration. I saw the man aspiring to universal dominion—I opposed him; I warned my fellow-citizens: I taught them to rise against the ambition of the Macedonian.—And yet the formal commencement of hostilities did not proceed from us. No, Æschines, but from Philip, by his capture of our ships. Produce the de-

[a] *For Mysians, i. e.* To the weakest of all people. The proverb is said to have arisen from the distresses of the Mysians in the absence of their King Telephus, and their helpless state of oppression, when all their neighbours fell upon them and pillaged the miserable and defenceless people without mercy.

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crees, and the letter received from Philip. Read each in order. These, when duly weighed, will enable us to give each transaction to its proper author. Read!

The Decree.

"In the archonship of Neocles: an assembly extraordinary being convened by the generals, in the month of Boedromion; Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus, of the Cyprian tribe, proposed the following DECREE:

"WHEREAS the generals have reported to the assembly, that Leodamus, our admiral, together with twenty ships sent under his command to import corn from the Hellespont, has been taken and brought into Macedon by Amyntas, a commander in the service of King Philip; it is DECREED, that it shall be the care of the prytanes and generals, that the senate be convened, and ambassadors chosen, who shall repair to Philip, and demand the dismission of the admiral, the vessels, and the soldiers; that they be instructed to declare, that, if Amyntas hath in this acted through ignorance, the state of Athens hath no complaints to urge against him; that, if their officer hath in anywise exceeded his commission, they are ready to take cognisance of his offence, and to punish him, as his inadvertence may have merited; but if neither of these be the case, but that this outrage be avowed either by

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" the person who gave, or who received the com-
" mission, that the ambassadors shall demand an
" explanation, and report the same, that the state
" may determine on the proper measures."

AND this decree did Eubulus frame; not I. Aristophon proposed the next: then did Hegesippus move for his: then Aristophon again: then Philocrates: then Cephisophon: and then the other speakers: I had no concern in any.—Read the next.

The Decree.

" IN the archonship of Neocles, on the last day
" of the month Boedromion, by a RESOLUTION of
" the SENATE.

" THE prytanes and generals having reported the
" decree of the general assembly, that ambassadors
" be sent to Philip to demand the restoration of the
" ships, and that the said ambassadors be furnished
" with particular instructions, together with a copy
" of the decree of the assembly:

" THE persons hereby chosen into this commis-
" sion, are, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Poly-
" crates. Aristophon the Cothocydian moved this
" RESOLUTION, in the presidency of the tribe Hip-
" pothoöntis."

As I produce these decrees, so, Æschines, do you

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produce that particular decree of mine which makes me author of the war. You have not one to shew: if you had, it must have made your first and favourite charge. Nay, Philip himself, amidst all his insinuations against others, never once accuses me. Read his own letter to the State.

The Letter.

"PHILIP King of MACEDON, to the SENATE "AND PEOPLE OF ATHENS, health!

"I HAVE received three of your citizens in "quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with "me about the dismission of certain ships com- "manded by Leodamas. I cannot but consider it "as an extraordinary instance of weakness, to "imagine that I can possibly believe that these "ships were destined to import corn from the "Hellespont for Lemnos; and that they were not "really sent to the relief of the Selymbrians, now be- "sieged by me, and who are by no means included "in the treaty of pacification, by which we stand "mutually engaged. Such were the orders your "officer received, not from the people of Athens, "but from certain magistrates, and others in no "private station, who are by all means solicitous to "prevail on the people to violate their engagements "and to commence hostilities against me. This "they have much more at heart than the relief of "Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may de- "rive advantages from such a rupture. Persuaded

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" as I am, that our mutual interest requires us to " frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given " orders that the vessels brought in to us be im- " mediately released. For the future let it be your " part to remove those pernicious counsellors from " the administration of your affairs; and to let " them feel the severity of your justice; and I shall " endeavour to adhere inviolably to my treaty. " Farewell."

HERE is no mention[a] of Demosthenes, no charge against me. And whence is it, that in all his acrimony against others, he takes not the least notice of my conduct? Because he must have brought his own usurpations full into view, had he mentioned me. On these I fixed, and these I obstinately opposed. I instantly moved for an embassy to Peloponnesus, the moment he entered Peloponnesus. I then moved for an embassy to Eubœa, as soon as he had landed in Eubœa. Then did I propose the expedition (not an embassy) to Oreum, and that to Eretria, as soon as he had stationed his governors in these cities. After this, did I send out those armaments which saved the Chersonesus, and Byzantium, and all our confederates, from which this state derived the noblest consequences, applause, glory, honours, crowns, thanks, from those who had received such important services. And, even

[a] *Here is no mention*, &c. There is indeed no express specification of any person in this letter. But those alluded to were well known. And probably they were the persons who had been most active in moving the assembly to exert themselves on this occasion; Eubulus, Aristophon, Philocrates, and Cephisophon.

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of those who had injured us, such as on this occasion yielded to your remonstrances, found effectual security; they who neglected them, had only the sad remembrance of your repeated warnings, and the conviction that ye were not only their best friends, but men of true discernment, of a prophetic spirit: for in every instance the event proved exactly consonant to your predictions.

THAT Philistides would have gladly given the greatest sums to have kept Oreum; that Clitarchus would have given largely to have kept Eretria; that Philip himself would have given largely, that he might possess stations so convenient for annoying us, and that all his other actions should pass unnoticed, all his injurious proceedings unimpeached; cannot be a secret to any man: but least of all to you. You, Æschines, received the deputies sent hither by Clitarchus and Philistides: by you were they entertained. Those whom we drove from us as enemies, as men whose overtures were neither consistent with justice nor with the interest of Athens, were your dearest friends. How false and groundless then are your malicious accusations! You, who say that I am silent when I get my bribe, clamorous when I have spent it.—Your case is different: you are clamorous when you receive your bribe; and your clamours can never cease: unless this day's decision should silence them effectually by the justly-merited infamy.

AND when you rewarded these my services with

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a crown, when Aristonicus proposed his decree, conceived precisely in the very words of this which Ctesiphon hath framed, when proclamation of the honour thus conferred upon me was made in the theatre, (for this is the second time I have been thus distinguished) Æschines, though present, never made the least opposition, never attempted an impeachment.——Take the decree.—Read!

The Decree.

" In the archonship of Chærondas son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of the month Gamelion, the Leontidian tribe then presiding, at the motion of Aristonicus, the following decree was made:

" Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of the Pæanian tribe, hath at many times done various and eminent services to the community of Athens, and to many of our confederates; and, at this time, hath by his counsels, secured the interests of the state, and particularly restored the liberties of certain cities in Eubœa; as he hath ever uniformly persevered in an unalterable attachment to the state of Athens, and both by words and actions exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the service of the Athenians, and the other Greeks;—Be it enacted by the senate and the popular assembly, that public honours shall be paid to the aforesaid Demosthenes; and that he shall be crowned with a golden

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" crown; that the crown shall be proclaimed in " the theatre, on the feast of Bacchus, at the time " of the performance of the new tragedies; and " that the making this proclamation shall be given " in charge to the presiding tribe, and to the di- " rector of the public entertainments.——This is " the motion of Aristonicus of the Phrærian tribe."

And is there a man can say, that this decree brought any of that disgrace upon the state, any of that derision and contempt, which he affirms must happen, if I should obtain this crown? When actions are recent and notorious, if good, they are received with applause; if bad, they meet their punishment. But it is well known, that on this occasion I received marks of public favour; never was censured, never punished. And the consequence is obvious. Down to the period of these transactions, I must have invariably acted for the true interest of the state: for, in all your consultations, my opinions and my measures ever were adopted. These measures I conducted to effectual execution: they were attended with crowns to the state, to me, and to you all; with sacrifices to the gods, and solemn processions, as instances of great success.

And now, when Philip had been driven from Eubœa, (yours was the military glory, but the policy the counsels,—yes! though these my enemies should burst with envy, were mine,) he raised another engine against this state. He saw that we, of all people, used the greatest quantities of imported

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grain. Determined to secure this branch of commerce to himself, he passed over into Thrace, and, applying to the Byzantines, then in alliance with him, he first required them to join in a war against us. But, when they refused, when they told him, (and they told him truth,) that they had not engaged in his alliance for such purposes, he instantly prepared his works, erected his machines, and besieged their city. I shall not say, what conduct became us upon this emergency. It is manifest. Who then supported the Byzantines? Who rescued them from destruction? Who prevented the Hellespont from falling under a foreign power upon this occasion? You, my countrymen. But, when I say you, I mean the state. Who spake? Who framed the decrees? Who acted for the state? Who devoted all his powers, wholly and freely, to the public interests? I!—And, how essentially the public interests were advanced by these measures, there need no words to prove. You have facts, you have experience to convince you. For the war, in which we then engaged, (besides the glory which attended your arms,) supplied you with all the necessaries of life, in greater plenty, and at cheaper rates, than the present peace, maintained by these good citizens, in opposition to the interests of their country, from their hopes of private advantage.—Confounded be their hopes!—Never may they share in these blessings, for which your prayers, ye true friends of Athens, are offered up to Heaven! And, O, never may they involve you in the fatal consequences of their machinations! Let them hear the crowns

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conferred by Byzantium, and those by Perinthus, with which our state was honoured upon this occasion:

The Decree of the Byzantines.

" BOSPHORICUS being hieromnemon, Demage-
" tus, by permission of the senate, drew up the
" following resolution:

" WHEREAS, the people of Athens have, from
" the earliest times, persevered in an unalterable
" affection to the Byzantines, and to their confe-
" derates, kinsmen, and the Perinthians; and have
" lately, when Philip of Macedon invaded and laid
" waste their territories with fire and sword, and
" attacked their cities, done them many and signal
" services; and, by a reinforcement of one hundred
" and twenty ships, with provisions, arms, and sol-
" diers, have extricated us from the utmost dan-
" gers, restored our ancient constitution, our laws,
" and the sepulchres of our fathers; it is therefore
" RESOLVED, by the people of Byzantium and Pe-
" rinthus, to grant to the Athenians the right of in-
" termarriage, the freedom of our states, the power
" of purchasing lands, and the first and most ho-
" nourable seats in all our public entertainments,
" in the tholus, in the senate, and in the popular
" assembly. And, that whatever Athenian shall
" choose to reside in our respective cities, shall en-
" joy a perfect immunity and exemption from all
" taxes. And it is further resolved, that three

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" statues, sixteen cubits high, shall be erected in " the port of Byzantium, representing the com- " munity of Athens crowned by the Byzantines and " Perinthians. And that honorary presents shall be " sent to the several general assemblies of Greece, " the Isthmian, Nemæan, Olympic, and Pythian, " where proclamation shall be duly made of that " crown, now by us conferred on the people of " Athens; that all Greece may be informed of the " magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the " Byzantines and Perinthians."

READ, too, the crowns conferred by the inhabitants of Chersonesus.

The Decree of the Chersonesites.

" THE Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestos, " Eleus, Madytus, and Halonesus, do crown the " senate and people of Athens with a golden crown " of sixty talents. They also consecrate an altar to " Gratitude and the Athenians, on account of the " important services conferred by this people on the " inhabitants of the Chersonesus, in delivering " them from the power of Philip, and in restoring " their country, their laws, their liberties, and their " religion. Of which the Chersonesites shall ever " retain a just and grateful sense, and be ever ready " to the utmost of their power, to return the im- " portant obligation.—Thus it was RESOLVED in a " full assembly of the senate."

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AND thus, the measures I concerted, the conduct I pursued, not only saved the Chersonesus and Byzantium, not only foiled the Macedonian in his scheme of commanding the Hellespont, not only gained these public honours to the state, but displayed to all the world the generous sentiments of Athens, and the base perfidiousness of Philip. He, the friend, the ally of the Byzantines, in the face of Greece, besieged their city, (can we conceive a baser, a more abandoned outrage!) You, justly, repeatedly, incensed against them, by injuries received in former times, not only forgot all your wrongs, not only refused to look with indifference upon their danger, but appeared their great deliverers; and, by such transcendent generosity, acquired universal love and glory.—That you have frequently honoured those with crowns, to whom the conduct of your affairs hath been intrusted, is full well known; but name the citizen, if you can, I mean the minister or public speaker, except myself, by whose means the state hath been thus honoured.

I AM now to shew that all those virulent invectives which he hath thrown out against the Eubœans and Byzantines, (invidiously recalling to your view every instance of their former offences) are merely the effect of malice; not only as his representations have been false; (of this I presume there can be no doubt;) but because we might admit them to be true: and even upon this supposition it will appear that my measures were the measures which your interests demanded. For this purpose,

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permit me to lay before you, in a few words, one or two instances of the noble conduct of this state. By the most illustrious of their former actions it is, that private men, or public bodies, should model their succeeding conduct.

THERE was[a] a time then, my fellow-citizens! when the Lacedemonians were sovereign masters, both by sea and land: when their troops and forts surrounded the entire circuit of Attica, when they possessed Eubœa, Tanagra, the whole Bœotian district, Megara, Ægina, Cleonè, and the other islands; while this state had but one ship, not one wall. Then did you march to Haliartus; and, not many days after, were your forces once more led to Corinth. And yet the Athenians of these days had many injuries to resent, both from Corinth and from Thebes, by their conduct during the Decelian war. But far were they from harbouring such resentment. Observe then, Æschines; they acted thus, in both these instances, not that they acted for their benefactors, not that they saw no danger in these expeditions. Such considerations never could induce them to abandon those who fled to their protection. No! from the nobler motives of glory and renown, they devoted their services to the distressed. And surely this their determination was just and generous. For death must come to close the period of man's life, into whatever corner one may shrink from the inevitable blow: but the truly

[a] *There was*, &c. See note, [a], on Philippic I. vol. i. p. 11.

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brave should draw the sword on all occasions of honourable danger, armed in fair hopes of success, yet still resigned with an equal fortitude to whatever may be decreed by Heaven. Such was the conduct of our ancestors, such the conduct of our elder citizens, who, though the Lacedemonians had been no friends, no benefactors to our state, but had injured us in many and important instances; yet, when the Thebans, flushed with their success at Leuctra, had attempted to destroy them, defeated the attempt; undismayed by the then formidable power of Thebes; determined by the motive of glory, not by the behaviour of those in whose cause they were exposed. And by these actions did you demonstrate to the Greeks, that, whatever injuries Athens may receive, her resentment is reserved only for the just occasion: when the being, when the liberty of the injurious party, is once in danger, her wrongs never are remembered, never regarded.

Nor were these the only instances in which such generous principles were displayed. Again, when Thebes[a] had seduced the Eubœans from their attachment to this state, far from abandoning the island to the consequences of this revolt, far from remembering the injuries received from Themison and Theodorus, in the affair of Oropus, you instantly armed for their relief. And on this occasion did our trierarchs, for the first time, engage voluntarily in the public service; of which

[a] *When Thebes*, &c. See note, [b], on Philippic I. vol. i. p. 10.

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number I was one.—But of this hereafter.—And if you acted nobly in thus rescuing the island; still your succeeding conduct was far more noble. When the inhabitants were at your mercy, when you were masters of their cities, you gave up all, with strictest integrity, to the men who had offended you. Nor were their offences once regarded, when they had trusted implicitly to our faith. I might recount ten thousand instances of the same kind; but I pass them over: engagements at sea; expeditions by land; the achievements of ancient times; and our own illustrious actions; all in defence of the liberty and safety of other Grecian states.——And if I saw my country chearfully engaging in so numerous and so perilous contentions, for the interests of others, when her own interests were in some sort the object of debate, what should I have advised? What measures should I have suggested? To cherish the remembrance of their offences, when these men had accepted our protection? To seek pretences for abandoning all our important interests?—Would not the first brave arm have deservedly stabbed me to the heart, had I thus disgraced the noble actions of my country,—even but in words? For that, in fact, you never could have yielded to such disgrace, I cannot doubt. Had you been in the least inclined, where was the obstacle? Had you not the power? Had you not advisers? Were not these men urgent in their applications?

But I must return to those parts of my public con-

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duct, which were subsequent to this period. And, here again, consider what the interest of the state really demanded. I saw the wretched decay to which our marine had been reduced; I saw our richer citizens purchase a total exemption from public taxes, at the expense of a trifling contribution; men of moderate or of small property despoiled and ruined; every opportunity of action lost to the state. I proposed a law, which obliged the rich to act fairly, relieved the poor from their oppressions, and, what was of most consequence, provided for the speedy and effectual execution of all our military operations. I was indicted on this occasion, for an infringement of our established laws: I appealed to your justice as my sole resource: and my accuser had the mortification to find not a fifth of the suffrages in his favour.——What sums of money, think ye, would our richer citizens have given me, they who contribute most largely to the public service, or even they who contribute in the next degrees, not to have proposed this law at all; or, at least, to have suffered it to be defeated, by affected cavil and delay? Such sums, (my fellow-citizens!) as I am ashamed to mention. And with good reason. By the former law, sixteen of their number were to unite in the discharge of one assessment, so that the proportion of each was almost nothing; and thus they loaded the poor with the public burdens. But, by my law, every individual pays in proportion to his fortune: so that he must now equip two ships of war, who by

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the former assessment was taxed but at the sixteenth part of one. And accordingly they stiled themselves not *trierarchs*, but *contributors*. They would therefore have given any price, to have been disengaged from the necessity of thus acting justly. ——First read the *Decree* relative to my indictment. Then produce the *Assessments*, those of the former laws, and that prescribed by mine.

The Decree.

" POLYCLES being Archon. On the sixteenth of " the month Boedromion. The tribe Hippothoïs " presiding.

" WHEREAS Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes " the Pæanian, proposed a law relative to the duty " of *Trierarchs*, to be substituted in the place of " former laws for regulating assessments for the " navy: and whereas an indictment was brought " by Patrocles against the said Demosthenes for an " *illegal proposal*:—Be it remembered, that the " prosecutor, not having a fifth of the suffrages in " his favour, was condemned in the fine of five " hundred drachmæ."

PRODUCE now the first excellent assessment.

THE TRIERARCHS SHALL UNITE IN THE EQUIPMENT OF ONE SHIP, TO THE NUMBER OF SIXTEEN MEN, FROM THE AGE OF TWENTY-FIVE TO

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FORTY YEARS. EACH TO CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE EXPENSE.

Now compare his with the assessment appointed by my law.—Read it.

TRIERARCHS SHALL BE TAXED ACCORDING TO THEIR FORTUNES. HE WHO IS WORTH TEN TALENTS BY VALUATION, SHALL FIT OUT ONE SHIP; IF HIS FORTUNE BE RATED HIGHER, HE SHALL BE TAXED, AGREEABLY TO THE SAME PROPORTION, IN A HIGHER SUM; NOT EXCEEDING THE EXPENSE OF THREE SHIPS AND A TENDER. THE SAME PROPORTION ALSO SHALL BE OBSERVED IN THE ASSESSMENT OF THOSE WHOSE FORTUNES DO NOT AMOUNT TO TEN TALENTS; WHO ARE TO UNITE IN ORDER TO MAKE UP THE SUM NECESSARY FOR FITTING OUT A SHIP.

AND can this be thought a trivial service to the poor? Or would the rich have given but a trivial sum, to have eluded this equitable mode of taxation?—But I do not magnify my integrity in conducting this transaction. I do not insist on my honourable acquittal. My glory is, that I procured a salutary law, a law approved by experience as highly valuable. For, during the whole course of our late war, in all the armaments conducted agreeably to my regulation, not one trierarch was ever known to petition against the severity of his assessment; not one was known to have fled to sanctuary; not one ever was imprisoned; not a

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vessel did the state lose abroad; not a vessel was detained here, as unfit for service. But, while our former laws subsisted, we were perpetually exposed to all such inconveniencies. And they proceeded from our poorer citizens. These were insufficient for the discharge of their assessments; and we were continually feeling the effects of such insufficiency. But by my means were the public burdens transferred from the poorer to our richer citizens, and the business of the state conducted without the least interruption. Permit me then to claim some praise on this account at least, that through the course of my public administration I constantly pursued such measures as reflected glory on the state, exalted her renown, and enlarged her power. No sordid envy, no rancour, no malignity, have I ever discovered; no meanness, nothing unworthy of my country. Such was the general tenor of my administration, in the affairs of this city, and in the national concerns of Greece. And no wonder. Here I was never known to prefer the favour of the great to the rights of the people. And, in the affairs of Greece, the bribes, the flattering assurances of friendship which Philip lavished, never were so dear to me, as the interests of the nation.

THE only articles, I presume, which now remain for me to speak to, are those of the PROCLAMATION and the ACCOUNTS. For that I have pursued the true interest of the state, that I have on all occasions discovered a warm affection and zealous alacrity in your service, I trust hath been esta-

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blished already, with the clearest evidence. I have indeed omitted the most important parts of my administration, the greatest of my services; both because I deem it incumbent on me to proceed to my defence against the charge of violating the laws; and because I am convinced your own consciences must bear the amplest testimony in my favour, although I should be totally silent as to the other parts of my conduct,

As to what he hath urged with such confusion and embarrassment, about his authentic transcripts of the laws, Heaven is my witness, that I am convinced you could not comprehend it: and, to me, it is, for the most part, utterly unintelligible. But my course shall be more ingenuous and direct. I shall lay before you the plain dictates of truth and equity. Far from asserting that I am not *accountable* to the public, as he hath repeatedly insinuated and affirmed, I here declare, that, through my whole life, I must ever stand accountable for every trust which I have executed, every measure which I have directed. But, for what I have freely expended of my private fortune, in the service of the public, I cannot at any time be liable to account: (observe me, Æschines!) No! nor any other citizen, were he the first of our magistrates. For, where is that law so pregnant with injustice and inhumanity, as to rob the man of all his merit, whose fortune hath been expended for the state, whose public spirit and munificence have been displayed in some important instance? To expose him to the malice of informers?

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To give them a power to scrutinize his bounty? There can be no such law! if there be, let him produce it; and I shall submit in silence. No, my countrymen! he cannot!

"But," saith this sycophant, "the senate hath "conferred public honours on him, *while his ac-* "*counts were yet to be approved*, under the pretence "of some additional disbursements from his own "fortune, when manager of the theatrical funds." —Not for any part of that conduct which stood *accountable*; but for those additional disbursements; thou sycophant!—"But you were director "of our fortifications."—Yes: and on that occasion were entitled to my honours; for I expended more than the state had granted, without charging this addition to the public. Where a charge is made, the accounts must be examined; but, where a free gift is conferred, favour and applause are the natural and just returns. This decree of Ctesiphon in my favour is, therefore, strictly warranted. It is a point determined, not by the laws only, but by our constant usage. This I shall readily demonstrate in various instances. In the first place, Nausicles, when at the head of our forces, was frequently honoured with a crown, for his bounty to the state. Then Diotimus, who gave the arms, and Charidemus, also received their crowns. I have another instance before me: Neoptolemus. He was frequently intrusted with public works, and received honours for his additional disbursements. For it would be hard indeed, if the man, invested

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with some office of authority, should either stand precluded by this office, from assisting the state with his private fortune, or find his liberal assistance the object of account and scrutiny, instead of meeting the due returns of gratitude.—To confirm what I have now advanced, produce the decrees made on these occasions.—Read!

A Decree.

"In the archonship of Demonicus, the 26th of "the month Boedromion, Callias thus reported the "resolution of the senate and people.

"It is RESOLVED by the senate and people to "confer a crown on Nausicles, the general in com- "mand: in as much as when two thousand regular "forces of Athens were in Imbrus, assisting the "Athenian colony in that island, and when, by "means of the severity of the season, Phialon their "agent could not sail thither, and pay the sol- "diers; the said Nausicles made the necessary dis- "bursements from his own fortune, without any "charge to the public in his accounts.——And "that proclamation be made of the crown thus "granted, during the feast of Bacchus, and the "performances of the new tragedies."

A Decree.

"The motion of Callias: agreeably to the re- "port made of the resolution of the senate.

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" WHEREAS Charidemus, commander of the in-
" fantry in the expedition to Salamis, and Dioti-
" mus, general of horse, when in the engagement
" at the river, some of our forces had been stripped
" of their arms by the enemy, at their own private
" expense, furnished the new levies with eight
" hundred bucklers: it is RESOLVED by the senate
" and people, that golden crowns be conferred
" on the said Charidemus and Diotimus: which
" crowns shall be proclaimed in the grand festival
" of Minerva, during the gymnastic games and new
" tragedies: of which the magistrates and ma-
" nagers of the entertainments are to take notice
" and cause proclamation to be duly made as
" aforesaid."

EACH of these, Æschines, was bound to account for the office he enjoyed; but the action for which he was honoured, was by no means subject to account. Then why should mine be subject? Surely, I may claim the same treatment with others, in like circumstances. I gave my additional contribution to the public: I was honoured for it; not as a man who stood accountable for this donation. I held a magisterial office: I accounted for my conduct in this office; not for my free bounty.

" TRUE!—but you have acted iniquitously in
" your office."—If so, were you not present, when my accounts were passed? And why did you not impeach me?—But, to convince you that he himself is witness that this crown is not conferred, for any

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part of my conduct really subject to account, take, read this decree of Ctesiphon at large. The clauses unimpeached will shew the malice of his prosecution in those he hath attacked.—Read!

The Decree.

" In the archonship of Euthycles, the 29th of the " month Pyanepsion: the Oenian tribe presiding. " The decree of Ctesiphon son of Leosthenes the " Anaphylystian.

" Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, " of the Pæanian tribe, in his office of director of " the fortifications, expended an additional sum of " three talents, from his private fortune, which he " gave freely to the public: and, when manager of " the theatrical funds, increased the general collec- " tion, by a voluntary addition of one hundred " minæ for sacrifices; be it resolved, by the " senate and people of Athens, to grant public ho- " nours to the said Demosthenes, on account of his " virtue and nobleness of disposition, which he " hath, on all occasions, invariably discovered to- " wards the community of Athens. And to crown " him with a golden crown: and that proclamation " shall be made of this crown thus conferred, in the " theatre, during the feast of Bacchus, and the ex- " hibition of the new tragedies; of which the di- " rectors of the theatre are to take notice, and " cause proclamation to be made as aforesaid."

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My free grant of these additional sums is the article not included in your indictment; the honours decreed for this bounty is that on which you found your charge. You admit that to accept my bounty is no infringement of the laws; you insist that to confer the due returns of favour, on this account, is criminal and illegal. In the name of Heaven, what part could the most abandoned, the malignant wretch, odious to the gods, have acted upon this occasion? Must he not have acted thus?

As to the circumstance of making proclamation in the theatre, I shall not mention that many times many thousands have been granted such an honour, or that I myself have been thus honoured on many former occasions. But, is it possible, ye powers! Art thou, Æschines, indeed, so lost to all sense and reason, as to be incapable of apprehending that, to the party who receives the honour, it comes with equal dignity, wherever it be proclaimed? That it is for their sakes who grant it, that the theatre is appointed for the proclamation. For, by this means, the multitude who hear it are inspired with ardour to approve themselves zealous in the service of their country; and they who give this testimony of their gratitude, share more largely in the public applause, than those who receive it. On this principle was our law enacted. Take up the law itself!—Read it!

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The Law.

" IN ALL CASES, WHERE A CROWN IS CONFER-
" RED ON ANY PERSON BY A SINGLE DISTRICT,
" PROCLAMATION SHALL BE MADE OF THE SAID
" CROWN, IN THE PARTICULAR DISTRICT SO
" CONFERRING IT. PROVIDED ALWAYS, THAT,
" WHERE CROWNS ARE GRANTED BY THE PEOPLE
" OF ATHENS AT LARGE, OR BY THE SENATE, IT
" SHALL AND MAY BE LAWFUL TO MAKE PRO-
" CLAMATION IN THE THEATRE DURING THE
" FESTIVAL OF BACCHUS."

ÆSCHINES! Dost thou hear? Are not these the very words of our law? "*Provided always, that,* "*where crowns are granted by the people or the senate,* " proclamation shall be made of these." Why then, unhappy man, hath thy malice been thus restless? Why this fictitious tale? Why not recur to medicine, to cure this disorder of thy mind? And feelest thou no shame at a prosecution dictated by envy, not by justice; supported by false recitals of our laws, by imperfect quotations of detached sentences; those laws, which should have fairly and fully been laid before our judges, as they have sworn to decide agreeably to their true tenor?—Hence you proceed to delineate the characters of a patriot statesman, as if you were giving a model for a statue, and found the piece not conformable to your model: as if words could mark out the patriot statesman, and not his actions and administration.—Then comes your

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clamorous abuse[a], vented without distinction or reserve, but suited to you and to your family, not to me. And this (Athenians!) I take to be the true distinction between a vague invective, and a regular prosecution. This is supported by criminal facts, whose penalties the laws have ascertained. That is attended with the rancour which enemies naturally throw out against each other. Our ancestors, I presume, erected these tribunals, not for assembling to indulge our private and personal animosities in mutual scurrility; but to give us occasion of convicting that man, fairly, who hath injured the community in any instance. This Æschines must know as well as I. Yet, instead of establishing his evidence, he hath discharged his virulence against me. Nor is it just that he should escape without the due returns of severity on my part. But, before I am

[a] *Your clamorous abuse*, &c. In the original, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμαξῆς, as from a *Cart*. Some derive this proverbial expression from the first rude state of ancient comedy, and find a particular spirit in the allusion, as containing a reflection on the theatrical character of Æschines. But the scholiasts on Aristophanes and Suidas explain the proverb in another manner. They tell us that the Athenian women, when they went in their carriages to the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, usually took great liberties in their abuse of each other, and hence the Greek expression τα ἐκ των ἁμαξων σκωμμαλα, to signify licentious and indecent ribaldry; it is true the French translator is extremely shocked at this interpretation, and cannot persuade himself that the Athenian ladies could so far forget the modesty and reserve peculiar to their sex. But it is well if this was the worst part of their conduct, or if they were guilty of no greater transgression of modesty in the course of their attendance on these famous rites.

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involved in the odious task, let me ask him one question. Say, Æschines, are we to deem thee an enemy to Athens, or to me? I presume, to me. And yet, on every occasion, where you had all the advantage of the law, in bringing me to justice, (if I had offended,) on passing my accounts, on moving my decrees, on former trials, where my conduct was impeached, you were silent. But in a case, where all the laws pronounced me innocent, where the procedure hath been regular, where numberless precedents are in my favour, where my conduct, far from discovering any thing of a criminal tendency, appears, in every instance, to have reflected a degree of honour upon my country; in such a case, I say, hast thou chosen to attack me? Beware then, that, while I am the pretended object of thy enmity, thou prove not really the enemy of Athens.

WELL then[a]; since you are all determined on the truly religious and equitable sentence, the virulence this man hath uttered obliges me, (I think,) though not naturally fond of invective, to retort his numerous and false assertions, by some necessary remarks upon his character; by shewing who he is, and of what family, who so readily begins the hateful work of personal abuse; who presumes to censure some of my expressions, though he himself hath uttered what no man of modest merit could have ventured to pronounce. No! had one of the awful

[a] *Well then*, &c. Here the speaker evidently takes advantage of some acclamations in the assembly, which he affects to regard as the general voice of his judges.

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judges of the shades impeached me, as an Æacus, or a Rhadamanthus, or a Minos, and not this babbling sycophant, this wretched, hackneyed scrivener, he could have used no such language, he could have searched for no such insolent expressions, no such theatrical exclamations, as you have now heard from this man.—" O Earth! and thou Sun! O Virtue!" And again, those pompous invocations,—" Pru-" dence! Erudition! that teachest us the just dis-" tinction between good and evil!"—Virtue! thou miscreant! what communion can Virtue hold with thee or thine? What acquaintance hast thou with such things? How didst thou acquire it? By what right canst thou assume it? And what pretensions hast thou to speak of Erudition? Not a man of those who really possess it could thus presume to speak of his own accomplishments. Nay, were they mentioned by another, he would blush. But they who, like you, are strangers to it, and yet so stupid as to affect it, do but wound our ears, when they utter their presumption, but never acquire the character for which they labour.—And here, I hesitate, not for want of matter to urge against you and your family, but because I am in doubt where to begin. Shall I first say, how your father Tromes was loaded with his chain and log, when a slave to Elpias, who taught grammar at the temple of Theseus? Or, how your mother, by those marriages daily repeated, in her cell near the hero[a] Calamites,

[a] *The hero*, &c. *i. e.* near the chapel dedicated to this hero, or near the place where his statue was erected.

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maintained this noble figure, this accomplished actor of third characters? Or, how Phormio, the piper in our navy, the slave of Dion, raised her up from this honourable employment? No! I call the gods to witness, that I fear to mention what is suited to your character, lest I should be betrayed into a language unbecoming my own. Let these things be then buried in silence; and let me proceed directly to the actions of his own life; for the person now before you is not of ordinary rank, but eminent,—yes, as an object of public execration. It is but lately,—lately, I say, but yesterday, that he commenced at once a citizen and a speaker. By the help of two additional syllables, he transformed his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and dignified his mother with the stately name of Glaucothea[a]. And now, observe the ingratitude and malignity of his nature. Though raised by your favour from slavery to freedom, from beggary to affluence, far from retaining the least affection to his country, he hath hired himself to oppose our interests. As to those parts of his conduct, where his disaffection may be at all disputable, I pass them over: but what he evidently and incontestably committed, as an agent to our enemies, this I must recal to view.

—Who knows not the banished Antipho? He who promised Philip to set fire to our arsenal, and,

[a] *Glaucothea.* The original adds, *who, every one knows, was called Empusa,* &c. [*i. e.* Hag or Spectre.] This, with the cause assigned, hath been *purposely* omitted in the translation.

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for this purpose, came back to Athens. And, when I had seized him in his concealment at the Piræus, when I produced him to the assembly, so effectual was the violence of this railer, so prevalent were his clamours,—that " my actions were not to be " tolerated in a free government."—" I insulted " the misfortunes of my fellow-citizens."—" I " forced into their houses without authority:"—That this man was suffered to escape unsentenced. And, had not the court of Areopagus been informed of the transaction, had they not perceived your error, an error so dangerous on so critical an occasion; had they not pursued this man; had they not once more seized, and brought him before you, criminal as he was, he must have been snatched from justice, and, instead of meeting the punishment due to his offences, (thanks to this pompous speaker,) retired in security. But, happily, you gave him the torture, and you punished him with death: a punishment which this his advocate should have suffered. And, so justly did the council of Areopagus conceive of his conduct, upon this occasion, that, when influenced by the same error which so often proved fatal to your interests, you had appointed him a pleader for your privileges in the temple of Delos, this council, to whom your appointment was referred, and who were to ratify the nomination, instantly rejected this man as a traitor, and appointed Hyperides to plead. On this occasion, were their suffrages given solemnly at the altar; and not one suffrage could this miscreant obtain. To prove this, call the witnesses.

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The Witnesses.

" CALLIAS, Zeno, Cleon, and Demonicus, in the " name of all the Areopagites, testify in behalf of " Demosthenes, that, at the time when the people " had chosen Æschines as advocate for the rights of " Athens in the temple of Delos, before the Am- " phictyons, we in full council determined that " Hyperides was more worthy to speak for the state. " And Hyperides was accordingly commissioned."

THUS, by rejecting this man, when on the point of proceeding on his commission, and by substituting another, the council did in effect declare him a traitor and an enemy to Athens. Here then we have a fact which clearly marks the public conduct of this noble personage: such a fact as differs widely from those he hath urged against me. One more there is, not to be forgotten. When Python the Byzantine came on his embassy from Philip; and came attended by commissioners from all the several powers in league with Macedon; as if to expose us, as if to bring witnesses of our injustice; then did I stand forth; and instead of submitting to the insolence of Python, instead of yielding to the torrent of his abuse against the state; I retorted the charge; I supported the rights of Athens. And with such powerful evidence did I demonstrate the injurious conduct of our enemy, that his own confederates were themselves forced to rise, and to confess it. But Æschines was the great co-adjutor of

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this man. He gave testimony against his country: and falsely too. Nor did he stop here. In some time after this transaction, he held and was detected in his intercourse with Anaxinus the spy, at the house of Thraso. And surely the man who holds his private interviews, who confers with an agent of our enemies, is himself a spy, and an enemy to his country.——To prove my allegations, call the witnesses.

The Witnesses.

"CELEDEMUS, Cleon, and Hyperides, being "duly sworn, testify in behalf of Demosthenes, "that, to their knowledge, Æschines repaired to "the house of Thraso, at an unseasonable hour of "the night, and there held conference with Anax-"inus legally convicted of being Philip's spy. This "deposition was signed in the archonship of Nicias, "the third day of the month Hecatombæon."

NUMBERLESS other articles I could urge against him; but I suppress them. For the fact is this: I might display the many instances, in which his conduct, during these periods, was equally calculated to serve our enemies, and to indulge his malice against me. But so slight are the impressions which such things make on your minds, that they are not even remembered, much less received with due resentment. Nay, so dangerous a custom hath prevailed, that you have granted full liberty to every man who pleased, to supplant and to malign your

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faithful counsellor: thus exchanging the real welfare of your country, for the pleasure of listening to personal abuse. Hence is it ever easier and less dangerous for the servile tool of our enemies to earn his bribes, than for him to serve the state, who hath attached himself to your interests.——That he manifestly supported the cause of Philip, previous to the commencement of hostilities, shocking as it is, (yes! I call heaven and earth to witness! for it was an opposition to his country;) yet forgive him, if you please, forgive him this. But when this prince avowedly made prizes of our ships, when the Chersonesus was plundered by his troops, when he marched in person into Attica, when affairs were no longer doubtful, but the war raged at our very gates; then was this slanderer entirely inactive; no instance of his zeal can this theatrical ranter shew, not one decree of any import, great or small, was ever framed by Æschines, in defence of your interests. If he denies this, let him break in upon the time allowed for my defence, and let him produce such decree. No; he cannot!——He is, therefore, necessarily reduced to this alternative. He must acknowledge, either that the measures I proposed on that occasion were not liable to censure, as he himself never offered to suggest any other measures; or that his attachment to our enemies prevented him from directing us to some better course. ——But was he thus silent, was he thus inactive, when there was an opportunity of injuring his country? On this occasion, no man could be heard, but Æschines,

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And, yet, the indulgence of the state may possibly endure the other instances of his clandestine conduct; but one there is, my countrymen! one act of his, that crowns all his former treasons. A subject on which he hath exhausted his whole artifice, in a tedious narrative of decrees about the Locrians of Amphissa, as if to pervert the truth. But this cannot be! impossible! no, nor shall this profusion of words ever wash away the stain of guilt from thy conduct upon this occasion.—And here, and in your presence, ye Athenians, I invoke all the deities of heaven, all the divine guardians of our country, and, above all, the Pythian Apollo, tutelary god of Athens. I beseech these powers to grant me safety and prosperity, as I now speak the truth, as I at first publicly spake the truth, from the moment that I found the miscreant engaging in this transaction. For he could not escape my notice: no, I instantly detected him.—But, if to indulge my spleen, if from personal animosity, I produce a false charge against him; may these gods blast my hopes of happiness!—But, why this solemnity of imprecation? Why all this vehemence?—The reason is this. We have the authentic records in our archives, which prove my charge: you yourselves remember the transactions clearly: and, yet, I have my fears, that he may be deemed an instrument too mean for such great mischiefs as he hath really effected. This was the case, when he brought down ruin upon the wretched Phocians, by the false assurances which he gave in our assembly.

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For, as to the Amphyssæan war, which opened the gates of Elatæa to our enemy, which gave him the command of the Amphictyonic army, and at once overturned the fortune of Greece; here stands the great agent in this black design, the sole cause of all the grievous calamities we endured. When I attested this in the assembly; when I exclaimed with all my powers, "You are bringing an enemy "to our gates; yes, Æschines, the whole Amphic-"tyonic body to fall upon us;" his co-adjutors at once silenced me; while others stood confounded at the assertion, and regarded it as a groundless charge, the effect of personal animosity.—But, since you were at that time prevented from receiving the important information, attend, now, my countrymen! hear the true nature of this whole transaction; the secret motives which produced, and the contrivance which effected it. So shall you discover a scheme well concerted, receive new and useful lights into the history of public affairs, and see what deep designs the heart of Philip could conceive.

146 THIS prince saw no means of terminating his war with Athens, no resource, unless he were to arm the Thebans and Thessalians against us. No resource, I say: for, although the conduct of your generals had been scandalous and unsuccessful, yet the war itself, and the vigilance of our cruisers, had involved him in numberless distresses; as he found it equally impracticable to export the produce of his kingdom, and to supply his own demands, by

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importation. He was not, at that time, superior to us at sea: nor could he penetrate into Attica by land, while the Thessalians refused to follow him, and the Thebans denied him a passage through their territory. Victorious, therefore, as he proved against your generals; (such as you employed;—of that I shall not speak;) yet, still, the situation of his kingdom, and the circumstances, on each side, reduced him, in the event, to great distress. He knew that his private interest could not obtain the least regard, either from Thebes or Thessaly, as a motive for engaging in hostilities against us: but, could he once be admitted to lead their forces in some common cause of theirs, he trusted to the united power of fraud and flattery, and was confident of success. His scheme, then, was this; and observe how well it was concerted;——to embroil the Amphictyons in a war, by raising dissensions in their general assembly. For, in such a war, he presumed that he should soon be wanted. And, now, were he to choose the instrument of this design, either from his own deputies, or from those of his confederates, this must awaken suspicion: the Thebans, and Thessalians, and all the states must be roused to strictest vigilance. But could he obtain an Athenian for his agent, a citizen of that state which avowedly opposed him, this must secure him from detection. Thus he reasoned; and thus was the event. How then was this point gained? By bribing Æschines. Here stands the man, who seized the advantage of that inattention, that unsuspecting confidence, which you too frequently discover upon such occasions;

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was proposed as one of our representatives, and, by the few voices of a faction, confirmed in this commission. Thus invested with the august authority of his state, he repairs to the general council; and, regardless of all other concerns, applies himself directly to the service for which he had received his wages. He frames his specious harangues, he delivers his legendary tale of the Cyrrhæan plain, and its consecration; and prevails on the hieromnemons (men unexperienced in the artifices of a speaker, men, whose views never were extended beyond the present moment) to decree that a survey should be had of this district, which the people of Amphissa claimed and occupied as their own; but which this man now asserted to be sacred ground: not provoked by any insolence of the Locrians, by any fine which they imposed upon our state; as he now pretends;—but falsely;—as I shall convince you by one undoubted proof. Unless citation had been regularly issued, it was impossible for the Locrians to have commenced any suit against our state. Who then cited you? Produce the record of this citation. Name the man who can inform us of it: let him appear. No; you cannot. Your pretence therefore is false and groundless.

The Amphictyons, then, having proceeded to the survey of this district, agreeably to his direction, were assaulted by the Locrians, with a violence which had well nigh proved fatal to them all. Some of the hieromnemons were even made prisoners. And when the ferment became general,

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and war was denounced against the Amphissæans, Cottyphus was at first chosen to lead the Amphictyonic army. But when some states refused to obey his summons, and those who did obey, refused to act; in the next general council, Philip was appointed to the command. So effectual was the influence of his agents, the old traitors of Thessaly, and those of other states. Nor did their allegations want a fair and specious colour. "Either we must "raise a subsidy," said they, "maintain a mercenary army, and fine those people who refuse "their quota; or we must choose him general." Need I say more? He was chosen. His forces were collected with the utmost diligence: he marched, as if towards Cyrrha. But now,—farewell, at once, to all regard either to the Cyrrhæans or the Locrians! He seizes Elatæa[a].—Had not the Thebans, then, instantly repented, and united with our state, the whole force of this invasion must have fallen, like a thunder-storm, on Athens. But, in this critical conjuncture, they started up and stopped his progress: a blessing which you owe to some gracious divinity, who then defended us; and, under him, to me, as far as one man could be the instrument of such a blessing.——Give me the decrees. Produce the date of each transaction. Thus shall you see

[a] *He seizes Elatæa*, &c. Which by its situation commanded the territory of Attica and Bœotia, so as to awe both Thebes and Athens.—But we shall immediately learn the policy of this step from Demosthenes himself; and the cause of that dreadful consternation it raised in Athens, which the speaker is just now to paint in such lively colours.

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what infinite confusion this abandoned wretch could raise, and yet escape unpunished. Read the decrees.

The Decree of the Amphictyons.

" In the pontificate of Clinagoras. At the gene-
" ral assembly of Amphictyons, held in the spring,
" it is RESOLVED by the PYLAGORÆ, and as-
" sessors in the said assembly, that, whereas the
" people of Amphissa continue to profane the con-
" secrated lands, and do at this time actually
" occupy them, by tillage and pasture,—the Pyla-
" goræ and assessors shall repair to the said lands,
" and determine the boundaries by pillars; strictly
" enjoining the people of Amphissa to cease from
" such violation for the future."

Another Decree.

" In the pontificate of Clinagoras, at the general
" assembly held in the spring. Whereas the peo-
" ple of Amphissa have cantoned out the conse-
" crated lands, have occupied them by tillage and
" pasture, and, when summoned to desist from
" such profanation, rose up in arms, and forcibly
" repelled the general council of Greece, wounding
" some of the members, and particularly Cottyphus
" the Arcadian general of the Amphictyons;—It
" is therefore RESOLVED by the Pylagoræ, the as-
" sessors, and the general assembly, that a deputa-
" tion shall be sent to Philip king of Macedon,

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" inviting him to assist Apollo and the Amphic-
" tyons, and to repel the outrage of the wretched
" Amphissæans; and farther to declare that he is
" constituted by all the Greeks, a member of the
" council of Amphictyons, general and commander
" of their forces; with full and unlimited powers."

READ now the date of these transactions; for they correspond exactly with the time in which he acted as our representative.

The Date.

IN THE ARCHONSHIP OF MNESITHIDES, THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF THE MONTH ANTHESTERION.

GIVE me the letter, which, when the Thebans had refused to concur with him, Philip sent to his confederates in Peloponnesus. This will fully prove that the real motive of this enterprise was studiously concealed, I mean his design against Greece, his schemes against Thebes and Athens; while he affected but to execute the orders of the Amphictyonic council: a pretence, for which he was indebted to this man.—Read.

The Letter.

" PHILIP King of Macedon, to the magistrates
" and counsellors of the confederated people of
" Peloponnesus, health.

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" WHEREAS the Locri, called Ozolæ, inhabitants " of Amphissa, profanely commit outrages on the " temple of Apollo in Delphi, and in an hostile " manner invade, and make depredations in, the " sacred territory; know ye, that we have re- " solved, in conjunction with you, to assert the " rights of the god, and to oppose those impious " wretches, who have thus presumed to violate all " that is accounted sacred among men. Do you, " therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, with pro- " visions for forty days, within this present month " called by us Loüs, by the Athenians, Boedro- " mion, and, by the Corinthians, Panemus. Such " as attend us shall be duly consulted, and all mea- " sures pursued with their concurrence; they who " refuse obedience to these orders, shall be pu- " nished. Farewell."

You see with what caution he keeps his real purpose concealed; how he flies for shelter to the acts of the Amphictyons. And who was the man that procured him this subterfuge? Who gave him such plausible pretences? Who was the great author of all our calamities? Was it not this man?—Yet, mistake me not, Athenians; when our public calamities are the subject of your conversation, say not that we owe them entirely to a single person. No, not to one; let heaven and earth bear witness! but to many abandoned traitors in the several states, in which number he stands distinguished: he, whom if no regards controuled me, I should not scruple to pronounce the accursed destroyer of persons,

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places, cities, all that were involved in the general overthrow. For the sower of the seed is surely the author of the whole harvest of mischief. Astonishing indeed it is, that you can behold him, and not instantly turn away with horror from an object so detestable. But this is the effect of that thick cloud, in which the truth has lain concealed.

And thus, from touching slightly on the designs which he pursued against his country, I am led naturally to those measures in which I was myself engaged, in opposition to such traitorous designs. These demand our attention for various reasons; chiefly, because it would be shameful, when I have laboured in your service with indefatigable zeal, to refuse to hear my services recounted.—No sooner 161
then did I perceive the Thebans, I might have said the Athenians also, deceived so effectually by those agents which Philip's gold had secured in each state, as to look with indifference upon an object equally formidable to both, I mean the increasing power of this prince: no sooner did I see them resign all thoughts of guarding against his progress; and, in defiance of their common danger, ready to encounter each other, in mutual enmity; than I roused all my vigilance, exerted my incessant efforts, to prevent such rupture. This I considered as a real service to my country; and not upon my own judgment only; I had the authority of Aris- 162
tophon and Eubulus to confirm me: men who had ever laboured to effect this scheme of union between the two states: (however violent their oppo-

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sition upon other points, in this they ever were agreed:) men who, when living, were persecuted by thy abject flattery; yet now, when they are no more, thou presumest to arraign their conduct. So lost art thou to shame! Yes, thou scandal to humanity! for whatever is urged against me, with respect to Thebes, affects their characters much more than mine. They had declared loudly for this alliance long before it was proposed by me.—But I have digressed too far.——When Æschines had effected this Amphissæan war: when his traitorous co-adjutors had possessed our minds with animosity against the Thebans, the great secret of that confusion raised among the states was now discovered. Philip marched directly to attack us. And, had we not been suddenly awakened to a vigorous exertion of our powers, the danger must have overwhelmed us; so far had these men carried on their desperate design.—But, to form a perfect judgment of the terms on which we then stood with Thebes, consult your own decrees, and the answers received on this occasion.—Take them.—Read.

A Decree.

"In the archonship of Heropythus, on the "twenty-fifth day of the month Elaphebolion, the "Erecthian tribe presiding, the senate and generals "came to the following resolution:

"Whereas Philip hath possessed himself of "some adjacent cities, and demolished others, and

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" is actually preparing to make an inroad into
" Attica, (in manifest contempt of his engagements)
" and to rescind all his late treaties and obligations,
" without the least regard to public faith: It is
" RESOLVED, that ambassadors shall be sent to
" confer with him, and to exhort him to preserve
" that harmony, and to adhere to those engage-
" ments which have hitherto subsisted between us:
" at least, that he may grant the state time to de-
" liberate, and make a truce, till the month Thar-
" gelion.—Simus, Euthydemus, and Bulagoras, are
" elected from the senate for this commission."

Another Decree.

" IN the archonship of Heropythus, the last day
" of the month Munichion;—at the motion of the
" polemarch:

" WHEREAS Philip is exerting his most strenu-
" ous efforts to alienate the Thebans from us, and
" prepares to march with all his army to the fron-
" tiers of Attica, in direct violation of the treaty
" now subsisting between us:—It is RESOLVED by
" the senate and people of Athens, that an herald
" and ambassadors be sent to him, who shall require
" and demand a cessation of hostilities, that the
" people may have an opportunity of deliberating
" on this exigency; as at present they are inclined
" to judge that the honour of the state cannot be
" supported but by an extraordinary and vigorous
" opposition. Nearchus and Polycrates are chosen

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" for this commission from the senate; and Euno-
" mus from the people, in quality of herald."

Now read the answer,

Philip's Answer to the Athenians.

" PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and
" people of Athens, health!

" How you have been affected towards us from
" the beginning, we are by no means ignorant: nor
" of that assiduity with which you have laboured
" to bring over to your party the Thessalians, the
" Thebans, and even the Bœotians. As these peo-
" ple had just ideas of their real interests, and have
" refused to submit to your direction, when you
" find yourselves disappointed, you send heralds
" and ambassadors to us, to put us in mind of for-
" mer treaties; and you demand a truce, although
" you have in no one instance felt the force of our
" arms. I, on my part, have admitted your am-
" bassadors to an audience. I agree to your de-
" mands, and am ready to grant the cessation
" which you require, provided that you remove your
" evil counsellors, and brand them with the infamy
" which they so justly merit. Farewell."

The Answer to the Thebans.

" PHILIP, king of Macedon, to the senate and
" people of Thebes, health.

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" I HAVE received your letter, wherein you take " notice of the harmony and peace subsisting be- " tween us. I am informed that the Athenians " have been assiduous in their solicitations, to pre- " vail upon you to comply with them in those de- " mands which they have lately made. I must " confess I formerly imagined that I had disco- " vered some dispositions in your state, to be in- " fluenced by their promises, and to acquiesce in " their measures: but now I have received full as- " surances of your attachment to us, and of your " resolutions to live in peace, rather than to submit " to the guidance of foreign counsels. I feel the " sincerest satisfaction, and highly applaud your " conduct; and more particularly as, by your ad- " herence to us, you have in the most effectual " manner, provided for your interests and safety. " Persevere in the same sentiments, and in a short " time, I hope you will experience their good ef- " fects. Farewell!

THUS, successful in confirming the mutual separation of our states, and elevated by these decrees and these replies, Philip now leads his forces forward, and seizes Elatæa: presuming that, at all events, Athens and Thebes never could unite. You are no strangers to the confusion which this event raised within these walls. Yet permit me to relate some few striking circumstances of our own consternation. It was evening. A courier arrived, and, repairing to the presidents of the senate, informed them that Elatæa was taken. In a moment

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some started from supper[a]; ran to the public place; drove the traders from their stations, and set fire to[b] their sheds: Some sent round to call the generals; others clamoured for the trumpeter[c]. Thus was the city one scene of tumult.——The next morning, by dawn of day, the presidents summoned the senate. The people were instantly collected; and, before any regular authority could convene their assembly, the whole body of citizens had taken their places above. Then the senate entered; the presidents reported their advices, and produced the courier. He repeated his intelligence. The herald then asked in form, WHO CHOOSES TO SPEAK? All was silence. The invitation was frequently repeated: still no man rose; though the generals, though the ordinary speakers were all present: though the voice of Athens then called on some man to speak and save her. For surely the regular and legal proclamation of the herald may be fairly deemed the voice of Athens.—If an honest solicitude for the preservation of the state had, on this occasion, been sufficient to call forth a speaker, then, my countrymen, ye must have all arisen and

[a] *From supper, i. e.* From the table provided at the expense of the public, for such citizens as had been distinguished by their services and merits.

[b] *Set fire to*, &c. Wolfius asks why? and for what purpose? The answer I apprehend is obvious. To clear the place for an assembly; and in their confusion and impatience they took the speediest and most violent method.

[c] *The trumpeter.* Possibly to summon the assembly on this extraordinary occasion, when there was no leisure nor opportunity for the regular and usual method of convening the citizens.

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crowded to the gallery: for well I know, this honest solicitude had full possession, of your hearts. If wealth had obliged a man to speak, the THREE HUNDRED[a] must have risen. If patriot zeal and wealth united were the qualification necessary for the speaker, then should we have heard those generous citizens, whose beneficence was afterwards displayed so nobly in the service of the state; for their beneficence proceeded from this union of wealth and patriot zeal. But the occasion, the great day, it seems, called not only for a well-affected and an affluent citizen, but for the man who had traced these affairs to their very source; who had formed the exactest judgment of Philip's motives, of his secret intentions, in this his conduct. He who was not perfectly informed of these, he who had not watched the whole progress of his actions with consummate vigilance; however zealously affected to the state, however blest with wealth, was in nowise better qualified to conceive or to propose the measures, which your interest demanded, on an occasion so critical. On that day then I was the man who stood forth. And the counsels I then proposed may now merit your attention, on a double account: first to convince you that, of all your leaders and ministers, I was the only one who maintained the post of a zealous patriot in your extremity, whose words and actions were devoted to your service, in the

[a] *The* THREE HUNDRED, *i. e.* The body of richer citizens who were to advance money for the exigencies of the state. See Note, (b), on Olynthiac I. vol. i. p. 50.

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midst of public consternation; and, secondly, to enable you to judge more clearly of my other actions, by granting a little time to this.—My speech then was thus:

"THEY who are thrown into all this confusion, "from an opinion that the Thebans are gained over "to the interests of Philip, seem to me entirely "ignorant of the present state of affairs. Were "this the case, I am convinced ye would now hear, "not that he was at Elatæa, but on our very fron- "tier. His intent, (I clearly see it) in seizing this "post, is to facilitate his schemes in Thebes. At- "tend, and I shall now explain the circumstances "of that state. Those of its citizens, whom his "gold could corrupt, or his artifice deceive, are all "at his devotion; those, who at first opposed, and "continue to oppose him, he finds incapable of "being wrought upon. What then is his design? "Why hath he seized Elatæa?—That, by drawing "up his forces, and displaying his powers upon the "borders of Thebes, he may inspire his adherents "with confidence and elevation, and strike such "terror into his adversaries, that fear, or force, "may drive them into those measures they have "hitherto opposed. If then we are resolved, in "this conjuncture, to cherish the remembrance of "every unkindness we may have received from the "Thebans, if we regard them with suspicion, as "men who have ranged them on the side of our "enemy, we shall, in the first place, act agreeably "to Philip's warmest wishes: and then I am ap-

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" prehensive, that the party who now oppose him " may be brought over to his interest, the whole " city declare unanimously in his favour, and " Thebes and Macedon fall with their united " force on Attica.——Grant the due attention to " what I shall propose; let it be calmly weighed, " without dispute or cavil; and I doubt not but " that my counsels may direct you to the best and " most salutary measures, and dispel the dangers " now impending over the state. What then do I " propose?—First, shake off that terror which hath " possessed your minds, and, instead of fearing for " yourselves, fear for the Thebans: they are more " immediately exposed, and must be the first to " feel the danger. In the next place, let all those " of the age for military service, both infantry and " cavalry, march instantly to Eleusis, that Greece " may see that you too are assembled in arms; and " your friends in Thebes be emboldened to assert " their rights: when they are assured, that, as they " who have sold their country to the Macedonian, " have a force at Elatæa to support them, you too " stand prepared to support their antagonists. I " recommend it, in the last place, that you nomi- " nate ten ambassadors, who, with the generals, " shall have full authority to determine the time " and all other circumstances of this march. " When these ambassadors shall arrive at Thebes, " how are they to conduct this great affair? This " is a point worthy your most serious attention. " ——Make no demands at all of the Thebans: " at this juncture, it would be dishonourable.

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" Assure them that your forces are ready, and but " wait their orders, to march to their support: as " you are deeply affected by their danger, and have " been so happy as to foresee, and to guard against " it. If they are prevailed on to embrace these " overtures, we shall effectuate our great purpose, " and act with a dignity worthy of our state; but, " should it happen that we are not so successful, " whatever misfortunes they may suffer, to them- " selves they shall be imputed; while your conduct " shall appear, in no one instance, inconsistent with " the honour and renown of Athens."

THESE, and other like particulars did I suggest. I came down amidst the universal applause of the assembly, without one word of opposition or dissent. Nor did I thus speak, without proposing my decree in form; nor did I propose my decree, without proceeding on the embassy; nor did I proceed on the embassy, without prevailing on the Thebans. From first to last, my conduct was uniform, my perseverance invariable, my whole powers entirely devoted to repel the dangers then encompassing the state. Produce the decree made on this occasion. Say, Æschines, what character are we to ascribe to you, on that great day? And, in what light am I to be considered? As a Battalus, the odious name your scorn and malice have given me? And you, a hero of no ordinary rank, a dramatic hero, a Cresphontes, a Creon, or an Oenomäus, the character in which your vile performance was punished with such heavy stripes? On that day our country had full proof that I, the Battalus, could perform more

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worthy services than you, the Oenomäus. You performed no services at all: I discharged the duty of a faithful citizen in the amplest manner.

The Decree.

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"In the archonship of Nausicles, the Aiantidian "tribe presiding, on the sixteenth day of the month "Scirrophorion, Demosthenes, the son of Demos- "thenes, of the Pæanian tribe, proposed this de- "cree.

"Whereas, Philip, king of the Macedonians, "hath, in various times past, violated the treaty of "peace subsisting between him and the state of "Athens, in open contempt of his most solemn "engagements, and of all that is esteemed sacred "in Greece; possessing himself of cities to which "he had no claim or pretensions, reducing some to "slavery that were under the Athenian jurisdic- "tion; and this, without any previous injury "committed on the part of Athens. And, whereas, "he, at this time, perseveres in his outrages and "cruelty, imposing his garrisons on the cities of "Greece, subverting their consitutions, enslaving "their inhabitants, and razing their walls; in some, "dispossessing the Greeks, and establishing bar- "barians; abandoning the temples and sepulchres "to their inhuman rage, (actions agreeable to his "country and his manners,) insolent in his present "fortune, and forgetful of that mean origin, from "whence he hath arisen to this unexpected power.

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" And, whereas, while the Athenian people beheld " him extending his dominion over states and " countries like his own, barbarous and detached " from Greece, they deemed themselves little af- " fected, or injured by such conquests; but now, " when Grecian cities are insulted by his arms, or " totally subverted, they justly conceive it would " be unwarrantable and unworthy of the glory of " their illustrious ancestors, to look on with indif- " ference, while the Greeks are thus reduced to " slavery.—For these reasons, the SENATE AND " PEOPLE OF ATHENS, (with due veneration to the " gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city " and territory, whose aid they now implore; and " with due attention to the virtue of their ances- " tors, to whom the general liberty of Greece was " ever dearer than the particular interest of their " own state,) have RESOLVED,

" THAT a fleet of two hundred vessels shall " be sent to sea, (the admiral to cruise within the " streights of Thermopylæ:) That the generals and " commanders, both of horse and foot, shall march " with their respective forces to Eleusis: That " ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece; " and particularly to the Thebans, as the present " situation of Philip threatens their confines more " immediately: That these ambassadors shall be " instructed to exhort them not to be terrified by " Philip, but to exert themselves in defence of " their own liberty, and that of Greece; to assure " them, that the people of Athens, far from har-

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" bouring the least resentment, on account of any for-
" mer differences which might have alienated their
" states from each other, are ready to support them
" with all their powers, their treasures, their forces,
" and their arms; well knowing that, to contend
" for sovereignty among themselves, is an honour
" to the Greeks; but to be commanded by a fo-
" reigner, or to suffer him to wrest from them their
" superiority, is unworthy of the Grecian dignity,
" and the glorious actions of their ancestors:—To
" assure them, that the Athenian people do not
" look on those of Thebes as aliens, but as kins-
" men and countrymen; that the good offices con-
" ferred on Thebes, by their progenitors, are ever
" fresh in their memory, who restored the descend-
" ants of Hercules to their hereditary dominions,
" from which they had been expelled by the Pelo-
" ponnesians, and, by force of arms, subdued all
" those who opposed themselves to that illustrious
" family; who kindly entertained Oedipus and his
" adherents, in the time of their calamity; and
" who have transmitted many other monuments of
" their affection and respect to Thebes:—That the
" people of Athens, therefore, will not, at this con-
" juncture, desert the cause of Thebes and Greece;
" but are ready to enter into engagements, defen-
" sive and offensive, with the Thebans, cemented
" and confirmed by a mutual liberty of intermar-
" riage, and by the oaths of each party, tendered and
" accepted with all due solemnity. The ambassadors
" chosen on this occasion are, Demosthenes, Hype-

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"rides, Mnesithides, Democrates, and Callaes-
"chrus."

HERE was the foundation laid, here was the first establishment of our interest in Thebes. Hitherto the traitors had been too successful; and all was animosity, aversion, and suspicion, between the cities. But, by this decree, that danger which hung lowering over our state, was in an instant dissipated like a vapour.—And surely it was the duty of an honest citizen, if he had any better measures to propose, to have declared them publicly, not to have cavilled now. For the counsellor and the sycophant are characters entirely different in every particular; but in this are they more especially distinguished from each other, that the one fairly declares his opinion previous to the event; and makes himself accountable to those he hath influenced, to fortune, to the times, to the world: while the other is silent when he ought to speak; but when some melancholy accident hath happened, he dwells on this with the most invidious censure. That was the time (I repeat it) for a man sincerely attached to his country, and to truth. Yet, such is my confidence in the abundant merits of my cause, that if any man can, now, point out a better course, nay, if there be any course at all, but that which I pursued, I shall confess myself criminal; for if any more expedient conduct hath been now discovered, I allow that it ought not to have escaped me. But if there neither is, nor was, nor can be such a con-

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duct pointed out, no, not at this day, what was the part of your minister? was it not to choose the best of such measures as occurred; of such as were really in his power? And this I did (Æschines!) when the herald asked in due form, "who chooses "to address the people?" Not "who will inveigh "against things past?" Not "who will answer for "things to come?" In this juncture you kept your seat in the assembly without uttering one word. I rose up and spoke.—Well, though you were then silent, yet, now explain your sentiments. Say, what expedient was there, which I should have devised? What favourable juncture was lost to the state, by my means? What alliance, what scheme of conduct was there, to which I should have rather led my fellow-citizens? Not that the time once elapsed is ever made the subject of debate: For that time, no man ever suggests expedients. It is the coming, or the present juncture which demands the offices of a counsellor. And in that juncture, when some of our misfortunes, it seems, were coming on, some were already present, consider my intention; do not point your malice at the event. The final issue of all human actions depends on God. Do not then impute it as my offence, that Philip was victorious in the battle. This is an event determined by God, not by me. Let it be proved that I did not take every precaution which human prudence could suggest; that I did not exert myself with integrity, with assiduity, with toil even greater than my strength; that the conduct I pursued was not noble, was not worthy of the state, was not necessary: let this be,

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proved, and then accuse me. But, if a sudden clap of thunder, if a furious tempest burst at once upon us, and laid prostrate not our state alone, but every state in Greece:—What then? Am I to be accused? With equal justice might the trader, who sends out his vessel equipped and furnished for a voyage, be deemed guilty of her wreck, when she had encountered a storm so violent, as to indamage, nay, to tear down her tackle. He might plead thus, "I "was not pilot in the voyage." Nor was I commander of your army; nor I master of Fortune. She it is who commands the world.—And let this be duly weighed: If, when the Thebans engaged on our side, we were yet fated to this calamity; what were we to expect, if they had not only been detached from us, but united with our enemy, in compliance with all his urgent solicitations. If, when the armies fought at a distance of three days march from Attica, such danger and consternation fell on this city, what if the defeat had happened in our own territory? Think ye that we could have stood? That we could have assembled here? That we could have breathed? The respite of one day (at least of two or three) is oftentimes of signal moment to the preservation of a people.—In the other case —But I cannot bear to mention what we must have suffered, if this state had not been protected by the favour of some god, and the interposition of this alliance, the perpetual subject (Æschines) of your clamorous malice.

All this particular discussion is addressed to you,

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ye JUDGES, and to those auditors who stand round the tribunal. As to this miscreant, he needs but one short and plain reply. If you, Æschines, were the only man among us who foresaw the issue; it was your duty to have foretold it to your countrymen: if you did not foresee it, you are as accountable for such ignorance as any other citizen. What better right then have you to urge this as a crime against me, than I, to accuse you upon the same occasion? When, at this juncture, not to mention others, I approved myself so far a better citizen than you, as I was entirely devoted to what appeared the true interest of my country; not nicely weighing, not once considering my private danger; while you never proposed any better measures; else we had adopted these: nor, in the prosecution of these, were we assisted by any services of yours. No, the event discovered, that your conduct had been such as the basest, the most inveterate enemy to this state must have pursued. And, observable indeed it is, that at the very time when Aristratus at Naxus, and Aristolaüs at Thassus, equally the avowed foes of Athens, are harassing the Athenian partisans by prosecutions; here, Æschines hath brought his accusation against Demosthenes. But the man who derives his consequence from the calamities of Greece, should, rather, meet his own punishment, than stand up to prosecute another: the man whose interests are advanced by conjunctures most favourable to those of our public enemies, can never, surely, be a friend to our country. And, that this is your case, your life, your actions, the measures you have pursued, the measures you have declined, all demon-

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strate. Is there any thing effected, which promises advantage to the state? Æschines is mute. Are we crossed by an untoward accident? Æschines arises. Just as our old sprains and fractures again become sensible, when any malady hath attacked our bodies.

But, since he hath insisted so much upon the event, I shall hazard a bold assertion. But, in the name of Heaven, let it not be deemed extravagant: let it be weighed with candour. I say then, that had we all known what fortune was to attend our efforts; had we all foreseen the final issue; had you foretold it, Æschines; had you bellowed out your terrible denunciations; (you whose voice was never heard;) yet, even in such a case, must this city have pursued the very same conduct, if she had retained a thought of glory, of her ancestors, or of future times. For, thus, she could only have been deemed unfortunate in her attempts: and misfortunes are the lot of all men, whenever it may please Heaven to inflict them. But if that state, which once claimed the first rank in Greece, had resigned this rank, in time of danger, she had incurred the censure of betraying the whole nation to the enemy. —If we had indeed given up those points without one blow, for which our fathers encountered every peril, who would not have spurned you with scorn? *You, the author of such conduct,* not the state, or me? In the name of Heaven, say with what face could we have met those foreigners who sometimes visit us, if such scandalous supineness on our part had brought affairs to their present situation? If Philip

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had been chosen general of the Grecian army, and some other state had drawn the sword against this insidious nomination? And fought the battle, unassisted by the Athenians, that people who, in ancient times, never preferred inglorious security to honourable danger? What part of Greece, what part of the barbarian world has not heard, that the Thebans, in their period of success, that the Lacedemonians, whose power was older and more extensive, that the king of Persia, would have chearfully and joyfully consented that this state should enjoy her own dominions, together with an accession of territory ample as her wishes, upon this condition, that she should receive law, and suffer another state to preside in Greece? But, to Athenians, this was a condition unbecoming their descent, intolerable to their spirit, repugnant to their nature. Athens never was once known to live in a slavish, though a secure obedience to unjust and arbitrary power. No: our whole history is one series of noble contests for pre-eminence; the whole period of our existence hath been spent in braving dangers, for the sake of glory and renown. And so highly do you esteem such conduct, so consonant to the Athenian character, that those of your ancestors who were most distinguished in the pursuit of it, are ever the most favourite objects of your praise. And with reason. For who can reflect without astonishment upon the magnanimity of those men, who resigned their lands, gave up their city and embarked in their ships, to avoid the odious state of subjection? Who chose Themistocles, the adviser of this conduct, to

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command their forces; and, when Crysilus proposed that they should yield to the terms prescribed, stoned him to death? Nay, the public indignation was not yet allayed. Your very wives inflicted the same vengeance on his wife. For the Athenians of that day looked out for no speaker, no general to procure them a state of prosperous slavery. They had the spirit to reject even life, unless they were allowed to enjoy that life in freedom. For it was a principle fixed deeply in every breast, that man was not born to his parents only, but to his country. And mark the distinction. He who regards himself as born only to his parents, waits in passive submission for the hour of his natural dissolution. He who considers that he is the child of his country also, is prepared to meet his fate freely, rather than behold that country reduced to vassalage: and thinks those insults and disgraces which he must meet, in a state enslaved, much more terrible than death. Should I then attempt to assert, that it was I who inspired you with sentiments worthy of your ancestors, I should meet the just resentment of every hearer. No: it is my point to shew, that such sentiments are properly your own; that they were the sentiments of my country, long before my days. I claim but my share of merit, in having acted on such principles, in every part of my administration. He then who condemns every part of my administration, he who directs you to treat me with severity, as one who hath involved the state in terrors and dangers, while he labours to deprive me of present honour, robs you of the applause of all pos-

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terity. For if you now pronounce, that, as my public conduct hath not been right, Ctesiphon must stand condemned, it must be thought that you yourselves have acted wrong, not that you owe your present state to the caprice of fortune.—But it cannot be! No, my countrymen! it cannot be that you have acted wrong, in encountering danger bravely, for the liberty and the safety of all Greece. No! by those generous souls of ancient times, who were exposed at Marathon! By those who stood arrayed at Platæa! By those who encountered the Persian fleet at Salamis, who fought at Artemisium! By all those illustrious sons of Athens, whose remains lie deposited in the public monuments! All of whom received the same honourable interment from their country: not those only who prevailed, not those only who were victorious.—And with reason. What was the part of gallant men they all performed! their success was such as the Supreme Director of the world dispensed to each.

—Well then, thou miscreant, thou abject scrivener, thou who, to rob me of the honours and the affections of these my countrymen, talkest of battles, of trophies, of brave deeds of old. And, what are these, or any of these, to the present cause? Say, thou vile player, when I assumed the character of a public counsellor, and on an object so important as the natural pre-eminence of my country, with what principles should I have arisen to speak? Those of suggesting measures unworthy of my countrymen?

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Then must I have met that death I merited. And, when the interests of the state come before you, your minds, my fellow-citizens, should be possessed with an extraordinary degree of elevation, beyond what is necessary in private causes. When these are to be decided, you have only to consider the ordinary transactions of the world, the tenour of your laws, and the nature of private facts. But, in questions of state, you are to look up to your illustrious ancestors; and every judge is to suppose, that, with the symbols of his authority, he is also invested with the high character of his country. Thus, and thus only, shall he determine on such questions, in a manner worthy of these his ancestors.

But I have been so transported by mentioning the acts of your predecessors, that there are some decrees and some transactions that have escaped me. I return, then, to the points from whence I thus digressed. Upon our arrival at Thebes, we there found the ambassadors of Philip, those of the Thessalians and the other confederates, all assembled; our friends in terror, his party elevated. That this is not asserted merely to serve my present purpose, I appeal to that letter which we, the ambassadors, instantly dispatched on this occasion. Yet, so transcendent is the virulence of this man, that, if in any instance, our designs have been effectual, he ascribes it to the juncture of affairs, not to me: in every instance where they have been defeated, he charges all to me, and to my evil genius. It seems, then, that I

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the speaker and counsellor, can claim no share of merit in such advantages as have been gained by speaking and by counsel: but where our arms have been unsuccessful, where the conduct of a war hath been unfortunate, I am loaded with the whole blame. Can we conceive a temper more cruel, more execrable in its malice?——Read the letter. 213

The Letter is here read.

THE assembly was now convened. The deputies of Macedon were first admitted to an audience, as they appeared in the character of allies. They rose up and addressed themselves to the people; lavishing their praises upon Philip, urging many articles of accusation against you, and dwelling upon every act of opposition which you had ever made to Thebes. This was the sum of all: they called upon the Thebans to make the due return to the benefits conferred by Philip, and to inflict due vengeance for the injuries received from you: and, for this they had their option, either to allow the Macedonian a free passage through their territory, or to unite with him in the invasion of Attica. It was clearly proved, as they affected to suppose, that if their counsels were embraced, the cattle, slaves, and all the wealth of Attica must be transferred to Bœotia; but, that our overtures tended to expose Bœotia to all the havock of the war. To these they added many other particulars, all tending to the same purpose. 214
And, now, I should esteem it my greatest happiness to lay before you the whole detail of what we urged

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in reply. But you, I fear, are too sensible, that these things are past, that the torrent hath since broken in, and, as it were, overwhelmed all our affairs; and therefore must think it useless and odious to speak of these things at all. I shall therefore confine myself to the resolutions we obtained, and the answer returned to you. Take them, read.

The answer of the Thebans is here read.

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In consequence of these their resolutions, they called you forth; they invited you in due form. You marched, you came to their support: and, with such affectionate confidence were you received, (for I pass over the intermediate transactions,) that, while their army, both infantry and cavalry, were stationed without the walls, your forces were admitted into their city, were received into their houses, amidst their children, their wives, all that they held most dear. And thus, in one day, did the Thebans give three the most public and most honourable testimonies to your merit: one to your valour, another to your justice, and a third to your continence. For, by determining to unite their arms with yours, rather than to fight against you, they declared their sense of your superior valour, as well as the superior justice of your cause; and, by intrusting to your disposal, what they and all mankind are most solicitous to protect, their children and their wives, they demonstrated an absolute reliance on your strict continence: and your conduct

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confirmed these their sentiments in every particular; for, from the moment that our army appeared within their walls, no man ever could complain of any one instance of your injurious demeanour; such purity of manners did you display. And, in the two first engagements[a], that of the river, and that fought in winter, you approved yourselves not blameless only, but worthy of admiration, in discipline, in judgment, in alacrity. Hence, other states were engaged in praises of your conduct, ours in sacrifices and religious processions.—And here I would gladly ask Æschines this question, Whether, in the course of these events, when the city was one scene of unbounded joy and acclamation, he took his part in our religious rites, and shared in the general festivity: or, shut himself in his chamber, grieved, afflicted, and provoked at the successes of his country? If he appeared, if he was then found among his fellow-citizens, what injustice, nay, what impiety is this, when he had solemnly called Heaven to witness, that he approved these measures, to desire that you should condemn them by your present sentence; you who, by your oath, have made as solemn an appeal to Heaven? If he did not appear, is not that man worthy of a thousand deaths, who looks with grief on those events which fill his countrymen with joy?——Read these decrees!

[a] *And, in the two first engagements.* These, wherever fought, have been considered by historians as of too little consequence to be recorded. And the extravagance of joy with which the accounts of them were received, strongly mark the levity of the Athenian character.

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The Decrees relative to the Sacrifices are here read.

THUS were we, then, engaged in sacrificing to the gods; the Thebans, in acknowledging that we had been their deliverers. Thus, the people who had been reduced, by the machinations of my adversary and his faction, to the condition of seeking assistance, were raised by my counsels, to that of granting it to others. And what the style was which Philip then adopted, what his confusion at these events, you may learn from his own letters sent to Peloponnesus. Take them: read: thus shall you see, that my perseverance, my journies, my fatigues, as well as my various decrees, now the object of his malice, were by no means ineffectual. And permit me to observe, that this state afforded numbers of able and illustrious speakers before my time. Such were Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, and a thousand others. And yet, of all these, not one ever devoted his whole powers, upon all occasions, to the service of his country. He who moved the decree, did not charge himself with the embassy; he who went ambassador, was not author of the decree. Each reserved to himself a respite from business, and, in case of accident, a resource.——But I may be asked, "What! are you "so superior to other men in powers and confi- "dence, that you can do all yourself?"——I say not so. But such and so alarming was my sense of the danger then impending over us, that I thought it no time for private considerations, for entertaining

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any thought of personal security, for conceiving any better hopes than that all the powers of every citizen might possibly effect the necessary service. As to myself, I was persuaded, not perhaps on solid grounds, yet I was persuaded, that no mover of decrees could frame more useful decrees than I; no agent, in the execution of them, could execute them more effectually; no ambassador could proceed on his embassy with greater vigour and integrity. And hence did I assume all these functions.——Read Philip's letters.

The Letters are read.

To such condescension did I reduce this prince. Yes, Æschines, by me was he obliged to use such language: he, who, on all former occasions, treated this state with so much insolence and arrogance. And my fellow-citizens repaid these my services with the honour of a crown. You were present, yet acquiesced. Diondas, who traversed this grant, could not obtain a fifth of the suffrages.—Read the decrees.

The Decrees are read.

Here are decrees framed literally in the same terms with those which Aristonicus had before proposed, and that which Ctesiphon hath now moved: Decrees which Æschines hath neither impeached, nor united in the impeachment brought against their author. And surely, if this his present accu-

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sation be justly founded, he might have prosecuted Demomeles who proposed them, and Hyperides, with much more reason than Ctesiphon. And why? Because Ctesiphon can appeal to these men, and the decisions of your courts in their case. He can plead that Æschines never attempted to accuse them, though their decrees were conceived in the same terms with his. He can urge the illegality of commencing a prosecution on a case already decided. Not to mention other reasons. Whereas, in the former suit, the cause was to be supported only by its merits, without any previous considerations in its favour. But he could not then have pursued his present method. He could not have searched old chronicles, to support his malicious charge: he could not have ransacked our archives, for scraps of obsolete decrees, never once thought of, never once conceived as in any degree applicable to the present case: he could not have made up a plausible harangue, by confounding dates, and disguising facts, with all the arts of falsehood, instead of stating them fairly. No; he must have deduced all his arguments from truths recent, from facts well remembered; all lying, as it were, before you. Hence did he decline the immediate discussion of these transactions; but brings his charge now, after so long an interval: as if this were a contest in a school of rhetoric, not a real inquiry into public affairs. Yes; he must suppose that you are now to judge of speeches, not of political transactions. —Then observe his sophistical craft. He tells you that whatever opinions you had formed of us both,

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on coming hither, they must be forgotten; that you are to judge of what appears on this examination, like men settling an account of money. You may have conceived that a balance is yet due; but when you find the accounts cleared, and that nothing remains, you must acquiesce.—And here you may observe how dangerous it is to rely on any argument not founded on truth: for by this subtle similitude he hath confessed, that you came hither firmly persuaded that I have ever spoken for my country; he, for Philip. For he could not have attempted to alter your persuasion, unless you had been thus persuaded, with respect to each. And, that he is not justly warranted to demand such alteration, I shall now demonstrate, not by the help of figures (for we are not counting money;) but by a short summary of my services, which I shall submit to you, my hearers, both as examiners and as vouchers of my account.

By my conduct, then, which he treats with such severity, the Thebans, instead of joining with the Macedonian in an invasion of our territory, as we all expected, united with us, and prevented that invasion.—The war, instead of raging here in Attica, was confined to the district of Bœotia, at a distance of seventy stadia from the city.—Our coast, instead of being exposed to all the rapine of the Eubœan corsairs, was preserved in tranquillity during the whole war.—Instead of Philip's becoming master of the Hellespont, by the possession of Byzantium, the Byzantines joined with us, and turned their arms

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against him. Are we then to use figures and accounts in examining transactions, and shall these articles be erased from the account? Shall we not rather labour to perpetuate their remembrance?—I do not set it down as an additional article, that the cruelty which Philip was known to exercise towards those he had reduced, was all felt by other states, while we happily reaped all the fruit of that humaneness which he well knew to assume, when some future schemes were to be advanced. I do not insist on this.

232 —But one thing I shall assert with less reserve: That he who enters on a fair inquiry into the conduct of any minister, without descending to a malicious prosecution, must scorn the mean arts which you have practised, of inventing metaphors, and mimicking phrases and gestures. It essentially concerns the interests of Greece, no doubt, that I use this and reject that phrase; that I should move my arm this way, and not to that side. No: the fair inquirer would consider the state of facts; would examine what resources, what powers we possessed, when I first entered on affairs; what accessions I procured to these; and what were the circumstances of our enemies. If I had really weakened the powers of my country, such iniquitous conduct should be detected: if I had considerably increased them, your malice should not have pursued me. But, as you have avoided this method, I shall adopt it. And to you, my hearers, I appeal for the truth of what I now deliver.

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First, then, as to our powers at this juncture: we commanded but the islands; and not all of these; only the weakest of them. Neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra, were then ours. Of our finances, the amount was forty-five talents; and even this sum had been anticipated. Of infantry and cavalry, except those within our walls, we had not any: and what was the circumstance most alarming, and most favourable to our enemies, their artifices had been so effectual, that the adjacent states, Megara, Thebes, Eubœa, were all inclined to hostilities, rather than an alliance with us. Such 235
was the situation of our affairs. It cannot be denied; it cannot be at all controverted. And now consider those of Philip our antagonist. In the first place, his power over all his followers was absolute and uncontrouled; the first great necessary article in war. Then, their arms were ever in their hands. Again, his finances were in the most flourishing condition. In all his motions, he consulted only with himself: he did not announce them by decrees; he did not concert them in a public assembly; he was not exposed to false accusers; he was not to guard against impeachments; he was not to submit his conduct to examination; but was in all
things absolutely lord, leader, and governor. To 236
this man was I opposed. It is but just that you consider my circumstances. What did I command? Nothing. I had but the right of audience in our assemblies; a right which you granted to his hirelings equally with me. And, as often as they prevailed against my remonstrances, (and oftentimes

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did they thus prevail, on various pretences) were you driven to resolutions highly favourable to the enemy. Loaded with all these difficulties, I yet brought over to your alliance the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megareans, Leucadians, Corcyræans. And thus did we collect fifteen hundred foot, and two thousand horse, exclusive of our own citizens. And thus were our finances enlarged, by as ample subsidies as I could raise.

238 If you insist on what contingents should strictly have been required from the Thebans, or from the Byzantines, or from the Eubœans; if you talk of dividing the burden of the war in exact proportion; I must in the first place inform you, that, when the united fleet was drawn out to defend the interests of Greece, the whole number of ships amounted to three hundred; and of these two hundred were supplied by Athens. Nor did we think ourselves aggrieved; nor did we prosecute those who had advised it; nor did we discover any marks of discontent. That would have been shameful. No: we thanked the gods, that, when all Greece was threatened with imminent danger, we were enabled to give twice as much assistance to the common cause, as any other state. And then—little is the public favour which 239 your malicious invectives against me can gain. For why do you now tell us what we should have done? Were you not then in the city? Were you not in the assembly? Why did you not propose your scheme, if it suited the circumstances of affairs? For here was the point to be considered; what these

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circumstances admitted, not what our wishes might suggest. Had we once rejected the alliance of any people, there was one ready to purchase them, to bid much higher for them, to receive them with open arms. And, if my conduct is now questioned, what, if by any exact and scrupulous demands, in my stipulations with the several states, they had withdrawn their forces, and united with our enemy; and, thus, Philip had been master of Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium? How busy would these impious men have then been, how violent in their clamours! Must they not have cried out, that we had rejected these states? That we had driven them from us, when they were courting our alliance? That Philip was confirmed sovereign of the Hellespont by the Byzantines? That the whole corn-trade of Greece was at his disposal? That Thebes had enabled him to push the war to our very confines? That it had fallen with all its weight on Attica? That the sea was impassable, for that corsairs were perpetually issuing from Eubœa?—Should we not have heard all this and more?—A false accuser, (my countrymen!) is a monster, a dangerous monster, querulous, and industrious in seeking pretences of complaint. And such is the very nature of this fox in human shape, a stranger to every thing good and liberal; this theatrical ape, this strolling player, this blundering haranguer!—For, of what use is this your vehemence to the public?—do you waste it on transactions long since past?—Just as if a physician should visit his infirm and distempered patients, should never speak, never prescribe the means of expelling their disorders;

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but when one of them had died, and the last offices were performing to his remains, to march after to the grave, and there pronounce with all solemnity, "if this man had proceeded thus, and thus, he "would not have died."—Infatuated wretch! and dost thou vouchsafe to speak at last!

As to the defeat, that incident in which you so exult! (accursed wretch! who should rather mourn for it.) Look through my whole conduct, and ye shall find nothing there, that brought down this calamity upon my country. Let it be considered that there is no one instance in which the ambassadors of Macedon ever prevailed against me, in any of those states where I appeared as the ambassador of Athens: not in Thessaly, nor in Ambracia, nor in Illyria, nor among the Thracian princes, nor in Byzantium; in no one place; no, nor in the last debate at Thebes. But whatever was thus acquired by my superiority over the ambassadors of Philip, their master soon recovered, by force of arms. And this is urged as my offence. My adversary, even at the very time that he affects to ridicule my weakness, is so shameless as to require, that I in my single person should conquer all the powers of the Macedonian, and conquer them by words: What else could I command? I had no power over the life of any one citizen, over the fortune of our soldiers, or the conduct of our armies, for which thou art so absurd as to call me to account. In every particular where a minister is accountable, there, let your scrutiny be strict and severe. I never shall

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decline it. And what are the duties of a minister? To watch the first rise of every incident, to foresee, to forewarn his fellow-citizens. And this did I perform. To confine those evils within the narrowest bounds, which are natural and necessary to be encountered in every state; to restrain the fatal influence of irresolution, supineness, prejudice, and animosity; and, on the other hand, to dispose the minds of men to concord and unanimity, to rouse them to a vigorous defence of their just rights. All this did I perform; nor can an instance be produced, in which I proved deficient. If a man were asked, what were the means by which Philip effected most of his designs? the answer is obvious: It was by his armies, by his bribes, by corrupting those who were at the head of affairs. As to his armies, I neither commanded nor directed them. I am not therefore to account for any of their motions. As to his bribes, I rejected them. And, in this I conquered Philip; for, as the purchaser conquers, when a man accepts his price, and sells himself; so, the man who will not be sold, who disdains to be corrupted, conquers the purchaser. Well then! with respect to me, this state remains still unconquered.

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THUS have I produced such instances of my conduct, as (not to mention many others) justly authorise this decree of Ctesiphon in my favour. And, now, I proceed to facts, well known to all who hear me.—No sooner had the battle been decided, than the people, (and they had known and seen all my

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actions) in the midst of public consternation and distress, when it could not be surprising if the multitude had made me feel some marks of their resentment, were directed by my counsels in every measure taken for the defence of the city. Whatever was done to guard against a siege, the disposition of our garrison, our works, the repair of our walls, the money to be raised for this purpose, all was determined by decrees framed by me. Then, when they were to appoint a commissioner for providing corn, the people elected me from their whole body. Again, when persons, bent on my destruction, had conspired against me, when they had commenced prosecutions, inquiries, impeachments, and I know not what, at first not in their own names, but by such agents as they thought best fitted to conceal the real authors;—yes, you all know, you all remember that, at the beginning of this period, I was every day exposed to some judicial process; nor was the despair of Sosicles, nor the malice of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melanus, nor any other engine left untried for my destruction.——I say then, that, at the time when I was thus exposed to various assaults, next to the gods, my first and great defenders, I owed my deliverance to you, and all my countrymen. And justice required that you should support my cause; for it was the cause of truth, a cause which could never fail of due regard from judges bound by solemn oaths, and sensible of their sacred obligation.—As you then gave sentence in my favour, on all occasions where I had been impeached, as my prosecutor

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could not obtain a fifth part of the voices, you, in effect, pronounced that my actions had been excellent: as I was acquitted upon every trial for an infringement of the laws, it was evident that my counsels and decrees had been ever consonant to law; and, as you ever passed and approved my accounts, you declared authentically, that I had transacted all your affairs with strict and uncorrupted integrity. In what terms, then, could Ctesiphon have described my conduct, agreeably to decency and justice? Was he not to use those which he found his country had employed, which the sworn judges had employed, which truth itself had warranted upon all occasions!——Yes! but I am told that it is the glory of Cephalus, that he never had occasion to be acquitted on a public trial. True! and it is his good fortune also. But where is the justice of regarding that man as a more exceptionable character, who was oftentimes brought to trial, and as often was acquitted: never once condemned?—Yet let it be observed, (Athenians!) that, with respect to Æschines, I stand in the very same point of glory with Cephalus: for he never accused, never prosecuted me. Here, then, is a confession of your own, that I am a citizen of no less worth than Cephalus.

Among the various instances in which he hath displayed his absurdity and malice, that part of his harangue which contains his sentiments on Fortune, is not the least glaring. That a mortal should insult his fellow-mortal, on account of fortune, is, in my opinion, an absurdity the most extravagant,

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He, whose condition is most prosperous, whose fortune seems most favourable, knows not whether it is to remain unchanged even for a day. How then can he mention this subject? How can he urge it against any man as his reproach? But, since my adversary hath, on this occasion, as on many others, given a free scope to his insolence, hear what I shall offer upon the same subject; and judge whether it be not more consonant to truth, as well as to that moderation which becomes humanity.

53 As to the fortune of this state, I must pronounce it good. And this, I find, hath been the sentence, both of the Dodonæan Jove, and of the Pythian Apollo. As to that of individuals, such as all experience at this day, it is grievous and distressful. Look through all Greece, through all the Barbarian world; and where can we find the man who doth not feel many calamities in this present juncture? But this I take to be the happiness of our fortune as a state, that we have pursued such measures as are most honourable; that we have been more prosperous than those states of Greece who vainly hoped to secure their own happiness by deserting us.—That we have encountered difficulties, that events have not always corresponded with our wishes, in this we have but shared that common lot which other mortals have equally experienced. As to the fortune of an individual, mine, and that of any other, must be determined, I presume, by the particular incidents of our lives.—Such are my sentiments upon this subject. And I think you must agree

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with me, that they are founded upon truth and equity.——But my adversary declares, that my fortune hath been greater than that of the whole community. What! a poor and humble fortune, superior to one of excellence and elevation! How can this be? No, Æschines, if you are determined to examine into my fortune, compare it with your own: and if you find mine superior, let it be no longer the subject of your reproach. Let us trace this matter fully.—And here, in the name of all the gods, let me not be censured, as betraying any indication of a low mind. No man can be more sensible than I, that he who insults poverty, and he who, because he hath been bred in affluence, assumes an air of pride and consequence, are equally devoid of understanding. But the virulence and restless malice of an inveterate adversary hath forced me upon this topic, where I shall study to confine myself within as strict bounds as the case can possibly admit.

KNOW then, Æschines, it was my fortune, when a youth, to be trained up in a liberal course of education, supplied in such a manner as to place me above the base temptations of poverty: when a man, to act suitably to such an education, to contribute, in my full proportion, to all the exigencies of the state; never to be wanting in any honourable conduct, either in private or in public life; but, on all occasions, to approve myself useful to my country, and to my friends. When I came into the administration of public affairs, I determined upon such

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a course of conduct, as frequently gained me the honour of a crown, both from this and other states of Greece. Nor could you, my enemies, attempt to say that I had determined on a dishonourable course. —Such hath been the fortune of my life: a subject on which I might enlarge: but I must restrain myself, lest I should give offence, by an affectation of importance.

COME, then, thou man of dignity, thou who spurnest at all others with contempt; examine thy own life; say, of what kind hath thy fortune been? ——She placed thee, when a youth, in a state of abject poverty; an assistant to thy father in his school, employed in the menial services of preparing his ink, washing down his benches, and sweeping his room; like a slave rather than the child of a citizen. When arrived at manhood, we find thee dictating the forms of initiation to thy mother, assisting in her trade, every night employed with thy fawn-skin and lustral bowls, purifying the noviciates, and modelling their little figures of clay and bran, then rousing them, and teaching them to pronounce I HAVE ESCAPED[a] THE BAD; I HAVE FOUND THE BETTER: glorying in this noble accomplishment of howling out such jargon louder than the rest. And it is an honour we must allow him. For, as he

[a] I HAVE ESCAPED, &c. This part of the ceremonial alluded either to the improvements made in human life by husbandry and arts, which were commemorated in the mystic rites: or to the hopes of enjoying greater happiness in another world, in consequence of initiation, with which the noviciates were flattered.

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pleads with so much vehemence, ye may conclude that in his howlings he was equally piercing and clamorous. In the day-time, he led his noble Bacchanals through the highways, crowned with fennel and poplar, grasping his serpents, and waving them above his head, with his yell of EVOE, SABOE! then bounding, and roaring out HYES, ATTES, ATTES, HYES!—Leader!—Conductor!—Ivy-bearer!—Van-bearer! these were his felicitations from the old women: and his wages were tart, biscuit, and new-baked crusts. In such circumstances, surely we must congratulate him on his fortune.

WHEN you had obtained your enrolment among our citizens, by what means I shall not mention, but, when you had obtained it, you instantly chose out the most honourable of employments, that of under-scrivener and assistant to the lowest of our public officers. And, when you retired from this station, where you had been guilty of all those practices you charge on others, you were careful not to disgrace any of the past actions of your life. No, by the powers!—You hired yourself to Simmichus and Socrates, those deep groaning tragedies, as they were called, and acted third characters. You pillaged the grounds of other men for figs, grapes, and olives, like a fruiterer: which cost you more blows than even your playing, which was in effect playing for your life; for there was an implacable, irreconcileable war declared between you and the spectators; whose stripes you felt so often and so severely, that you may well deride those as cowards who are un-

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experienced in such perils.—But I shall not dwell on such particulars as may be imputed to his poverty. My objections shall be confined to his principles.—Such were the measures you adopted in your public conduct, (for you at last conceived the bold design of engaging in affairs of state) that, while your country prospered, you led a life of trepidation and dismay, expecting every moment the stroke due to those iniquities which stung your conscience: when your fellow-citizens were unfortunate, then were you distinguished by a peculiar confidence. And the man who assumes this confidence, when thousands of his countrymen have perished,—what should he justly suffer from those who are left alive?—And here I might produce many other particulars of his character. But I suppress them. For I am not to exhaust the odious subject of his scandalous actions. I am confined to those which it may not be indecent to repeat.

TAKE then the whole course of your life, Æschines, and of mine; compare them without heat or acrimony. You attended on your scholars: I was myself a scholar. You served in the initiations: I was initiated. You were a performer in our public entertainments: I was the director. You took notes of speeches: I was a speaker. You were an underplayer: I was spectator. You failed in your part: I hissed you. Your public conduct was devoted to our enemies: mine to my country. I shall only add, that on this day I appear to be approved worthy of a crown; the question is not whether I have been

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merely blameless: this is a point confessed. You appear as a false accuser: and the question is, whether you are ever to appear again in such a character? You are in danger of being effectually prevented, by feeling the consequences of a malicious prosecution.—The fortune of your life, then, hath been truly excellent: you see it. Mine hath been mean; and you have reason to reproach it.—Come then! hear me while I read the several attestations of those public offices which I have discharged. And, in return, do you repeat those verses which you spoiled in the delivery.

"Forth from the deep abyss, behold I come!
"And the dread portal of the dusky gloom.
And "Know then, howe'er reluctant, I must speak
"Those evils——————"

O, may the gods inflict *those evils* upon thee! may these thy countrymen inflict them to thy utter destruction! thou enemy to Athens, thou traitor, thou vile player!—Read the attestations.

The Attestations are read.

Such hath been my public character. As to my private conduct, if you be not all satisfied, that I have approved myself benevolent and humane; ever ready to assist those who needed; I shall be silent; I shall not plead; I shall not produce testimony of these points: no, nor of the numbers of my fellow-citizens I have redeemed from captivity,

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nor the sums I have contributed to portioning their daughters, nor of any like actions. For my principles are such as lead me naturally to suppose, that he who receives a benefit, must remember it for ever, if he would approve his honesty; but that he who confers the benefit, should instantly forget it, unless he would betray a sordid and illiberal spirit. To remind men of his bounty, to make it the subject of his discourse, is very little different from a direct reproach. A fault which I am studious to avoid; and therefore shall proceed no further; content to acquiesce in your opinion of my actions, whatever this may be. But while I practise this reserve, with respect to my private life, indulge me in enlarging somewhat further on my public conduct.

OF all the men beneath the sun, point out the single person, (Æschines), Greek or Barbarian, who hath not fallen under the power, first of Philip, and now of Alexander; and I submit: let every thing be imputed to my fortune, (shall I call it?) or, if you please, my evil genius. But if numbers who never saw me, who never heard my voice, have laboured under a variety of the most afflicting calamities, I mean not only individuals, but whole states and nations; how much more consonant to truth and justice must it be to ascribe the whole to that common fate of mankind, that torrent of unhappy events which bore down upon us with an irresistible violence?—But you turn your eyes from the real cause, and lay the entire blame on my administration: although you know, that, if not the whole,

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a part at least of your virulent abuse must thus fall upon your country, and chiefly upon yourself. Had I, when speaking in the assembly, been absolute and independent master of affairs, then your other speakers might call me to account. But if ye were ever present, if ye were all in general invited to propose your sentiments, if ye were all agreed that the measures then suggested were really the best, if you, Æschines, in particular, were thus persuaded, (and it was no partial affection for me, that prompted you to give me up the hopes, the applause, the honours which attended that course, I then advised, but the superior force of truth, and your own utter inability to point out any more eligible course)—If this was the case, I say, is it not highly cruel and unjust to arraign those measures *now*, when you could not *then* propose any better?—In all other cases we find mankind in general perfectly agreed, and determining in every particular with exact precision. Hath a wilful injury been committed? It is followed with resentment and punishment. Hath a man erred unwillingly? He meets with pardon instead of punishment. Is there a man who hath neither willingly nor inadvertently offended? who hath devoted himself to what appeared the true interest of his country, but in some instances hath shared in the general disappointment? Justice requires, that, instead of reproaching and reviling such a man, we should condole with him. These points are all manifest: they need not the decision of laws, they are determined by nature, by the unwritten precepts of humanity.—Mark then the ex-

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travagance of that cruelty and malice which Æschines hath discovered. The very events, which he himself quotes as so many instances of unhappy fortune, he would impute to me as crimes.

276 ADD to all this, that, as if he himself had ever spoken the plain dictates of an honest and ingenuous mind, he directs you to guard against me, to be careful that I may not deceive you, that I may not practise my arts with too much success.—The vehement declaimer, the subtle impostor, the artful manager,—these are the appellations he bestows upon me. Thus hath he persuaded himself that the man who is first to charge his own qualities on others, must effectually impose upon his hearers; and that they can never once discover who he is that urges this charge.—But you are no strangers to his character, and must be sensible, I presume, that all this is much more applicable to him than me.—As to my own abilities in speaking, (for I shall admit this charge, although experience hath convinced me that what is called the power of eloquence depends for the most part upon the hearers, and that the characters of public speakers are determined by that degree of favour and attention which you vouchsafe to each.)—If long practice, I say, hath given me any proficiency in speaking, you have ever found it devoted to my country, not to her enemies, not to my private interest. His abilities, on the contrary, have not only been employed in pleading for our adversaries, but in malicious attacks upon those his fellow-citizens who have ever in any de-

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gree offended or obstructed him. The cause of justice, the cause of Athens, he hath never once supported. And surely the ingenuous and honest citizen never could expect that his private quarrels, his particular animosities, should be gratified by judges who are to determine for the public; never could be prompted by such motives to commence his prosecution. No; they are passions, which, if possible, never should find a place in his nature: at least should be restrained within the strictest bounds.——On what occasions then is the minister and public speaker to exert his vehemence? When the general welfare of the state is in danger; when his fellow-citizens are engaged in some contest with a foreign enemy. These are the proper occasions, for these are the proper subjects of a truly generous and faithful zeal. But never to have demanded justice against me, either in the name of his country, or of his own; never to have impeached any part of my public, or even of my private conduct; yet now, when I am to be crowned, when I am to receive public honours, to commence a prosecution, to exhaust his whole fund of virulence in the attack;—this surely is an indication of private pique, of an envious soul, of a depraved spirit; not of generous and honest principles. And, to point this attack not directly against me, but Ctesiphon, to make him the culprit, is surely the very consummation of all baseness.

WHEN I consider that profusion of words, which you have lavished on this prosecution, I am tempted to

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believe that you engaged in it, to display the skilful management of your voice, not to bring me to justice.—But it is not language, Æschines, it is not the tone of voice, which reflects honour upon a public speaker; but such a conformity with his fellow-citizens in sentiment and interest, that both his enemies and friends are the same with those of his country. He who is thus affected, he it is who must ever speak the genuine dictates of a truly loyal zeal. But the man who pays his adulation to those who threaten danger to the state, is not embarked in the same bottom with his countrymen, and therefore hath a different dependence for his security. ——Mark me, Æschines, I ever determined to share the same fate with these our fellow-citizens. I had no separate interest, no private resource: and has this been your case? Impossible! Yours! who, when the battle was once decided, instantly repaired, as ambassador, to Philip, the author of all the calamities your country, at that time, experienced; and this, when, on former occasions, you had declared loudly against engaging in any such commission; as all these citizens can testify.

—Whom are we to charge as the deceiver of the state? Is it not the man whose words are inconsistent with his actions? On whom do the maledictions fall, usually pronounced in our assemblies? Is it not on this man? Can we point out a more enormous instance of iniquity in any speaker, than this inconsistency between his words and actions? And in this have you been detected. Can you then

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presume to speak; to meet the looks of these citizens? Can you persuade yourself, that they are strangers to your character? All so profoundly sunk in sleep and oblivion, as to forget those harangues, in which, with horrid oaths and imprecations, you disclaimed all connection with Philip? You called it an imputation forged by me, and urged from private pique, without the least regard to truth. And yet, no sooner was the advice received of that fatal battle, than your declarations were forgotten, your connection publicly avowed. You affected to declare, that you were engaged to this prince in the strictest bands of friendship. Such was the title by which you sought to dignify your prostitution. Was the son of Glaucothea the minstrel, the intimate, or friend, or acquaintance of Philip? I profess myself unable to discover any just and reasonable ground for such pretensions. No: you were his hireling indeed, bribed to betray the interest of Athens; and, although you have been so clearly detected in this traitorous correspondence; although you have not scrupled, when the battle was once decided, to give evidence of it against yourself; yet have you presumed to attack me with all your virulence; to reproach me with crimes, for which, of all mankind, I am least to be reproached.

MANY noble and important schemes hath my country formed, and happily effected by my means: and, that these are retained in memory, take this proof, Æschines. When the people came to elect a person to make the funeral oration over the slain,

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immediately after the battle, they would not elect you, although you were proposed, although you are so eminent in speaking; they would not elect Demades, who had just concluded the peace, nor Hegemon, no, nor any other of your faction. They elected me. And when you and Pythocles rose up, (let Heaven bear witness, with what cruelty, with what abandoned impudence!) when you charged me with the same crimes as now, when you pursued me with the same virulence and scurrility; all this served but to confirm the people in their resolution of electing me. You know too well the reason of this preference; yet hear it from me.—They were perfectly convinced, both of that faithful zeal and alacrity with which I had conducted their affairs, and of that iniquity which you and your party had discovered, by publicly avowing, at a time when your country was unfortunate, what you had denied with solemn oaths while her interests flourished. And, it was a natural conclusion, that the men whom our public calamities emboldened to disclose their sentiments, had ever been our enemies, and now were our declared enemies. Besides, they rightly judged that he who was to speak in praise of the deceased, to grace their noble actions, could not, in decency, be the man who had lived and conversed in strict connection with those who had fought against them: that they who, at Macedon, had shared in the feast, and joined in the triumph over the misfortunes of Greece, with those by whose hands the slaughter had been committed, should not receive a mark of honour on their return to Athens.

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Nor did our fellow-citizens look for men who could act the part of mourners, but for one deeply and sincerely affected. And such sincerity they found in themselves and me; not the least degree of it in you. I was then appointed: you and your associates were rejected. Nor was this the determination of the people only: those parents also, and brethren of the deceased, who were appointed to attend the funeral rites, expressed the same sentiments. For, as they were to give the banquet, which, agreeably to ancient usage, was to be held at his house who had been most strictly connected with the deceased, they gave it at my house; and with reason: for, in point of kindred, each had his connections with some among the slain, much nearer than mine; but with the whole body none was more intimately connected; for he, who was most concerned in their safety and success, must surely feel the deepest sorrow at their unhappy and unmerited misfortune. ——Read the epitaph inscribed upon their monument by public authority. In this, Æschines, you will find a proof of your absurdity, your malice, your abandoned baseness.—Read!

The Epitaph.

I.

[a] These, for their country's sacred cause, array'd
In arms, tremendous, sought the fatal plain:
Brav'd the proud foe with courage undismay'd,
And greatly scorn'd dishonour's abject stain.

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[a] Οἵδε πατρὸς ἕνεκα σφέτερας, εἰς δῆριν ἑΐσθεν
Ὅπλα, καὶ ἀγλιπάλων ὕδριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.

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II.

Fair virtue led them to the arduous strife;
Avenging terror menac'd in their eyes.
For freedom nobly prodigal of life,
Death they propos'd their common glorious prize.

III.

For never to tyrannic vile domain
Could they their generous necks ignobly bend,
Nor see Greece drag the odious servile chain,
And mourn her ancient glories at an end.

IV.

In the kind bosom of their parent-land,
Ceas'd are their toils, and peaceful is their grave:
So Jove decreed: (and Jove's supreme command
Acts unresisted, to destroy, or save.)

V.

Chance to despise, and fortune to controul,
Doth to the immortal gods alone pertain:
Their joys, unchang'd, in endless currents roll;
But mortals combat with their fate in vain.

Μαρναμενοι δ' αρειης και δειματος εκ εσαωσαν
Ψυχας, αλλ' αϊδην κοινον εθεντο βραβην,
Ουνεκεν Ελληνων, ως με ζυγον αυχενι θεντες
Δηλοσυνης στυγεραν αμφις εχωσιν υβριν.
Γαια δη παλαις εχει κολποις των πλειστα καμοντων
Σωματ' επει θνητοις εκ Διος ηδε κρισις,
Μηδεν αμαρτειν εστι Θεων, και παντα καλουμεν
Εν βιοτη· μοιραν δ' ουτι φυγειν επορεν.

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ÆSCHINES! hearest thou this! it pertains only to the gods to controul fortune, and to command success. Here, the power of assuring victory is ascribed not to the minister, but to Heaven. Why then, accursed wretch! has thou so licentiously reproached me upon this head? Why hast thou denounced against me, what I entreat the just gods to discharge on thee and thy vile associates!

OF all the various instances of falsehood, in this his prosecution, one there is which most surprises me. In recalling the misfortunes of that fatal period to our minds, he hath felt no part of that sensibility, which bespeaks a zealous or an honest citizen. He never dropped one tear: never discovered the least tender emotion. No! his voice was elevated, he exulted, he strained and swelled, with all the triumph of a man who had convicted me of some notorious offence. But, in this, he hath given evidence against himself, that he is not affected by our public calamities in the same manner with his fellow-citizens. And, surely the man, who, like Æschines, affects an attachment to the laws and constitution, should approve his sincerity, if by no other means, at least by this, by feeling joy and sorrow, on the same occasions, with his countrymen; —not take part with their enemies, in his public conduct. And this part you have most evidently taken; you, who point at me as the cause of all; me, as the author of all our present difficulties.— But was it my administration, were they my instances which first taught my country to rise in

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defence of Greece? If you grant me this, if you make me the author of our vigorous opposition to that power which threatened the liberties of our nation, you do me greater honour than ever was conferred upon an Athenian. But it is an honour I cannot claim: I should injure my country: it is an honour, I well know, ye would not resign. And surely, if he had the least regard to justice, his private enmity to me never could have driven him to this base attempt to disgrace, to deny you, the most illustrious part of you character.

But why should I dwell on this, when there are so many more enormous instances of his baseness and falsehood?—He who accuses me of favouring Philip!—Heavens and earth! what would not this man assert?—But let us, in the name of all the gods, attend to truth, to fact; let us lay aside all private animosity;—and who are really the men on whom we can fairly and justly lay the guilt of all misfortunes? The men who, in their several states, pursued his course, (it is easy to point them out) not those who acted like me: The men, who, while the power of Philip was yet in its weak and infant state, when we frequently warned them, when we alarmed them with the danger, when we pointed out their best and safest course; yet sacrificed the interest of their country to their own infamous gain, deceived and corrupted the leading citizens in each state, until they had enslaved them all. Thus were the Thessalians treated by Daochus, Cineas, and Thrasydæus; the Arcadians, by Cercidas, Hieronymus,

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Eucalpidas; the Argians, by Myrtes, Telademus, Mnaseas; Elis, by Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus; Messene, by the sons of Philiades, that abomination of the gods; by Neon and Thrasylochus; Sicyon, by Aristratus and Epichares; Corinth, by Dinarchus, Demaratus; Megara, by Elixus, Ptedorus, Perilaüs; Thebes, by Timolaüs, Theogiton, Anemætas; Eubœa, by Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosicrates.——The whole day would be too short for the names only of the traitors. And these were the men who, in their several states, adopted the same measures which this man pursued at Athens. Wretches! flatterers! miscreants! tearing the vitals of their country, and tendering its liberties with a wanton indifference, first to Philip, now to Alexander! confined to the objects of a sordid and infamous sensuality, as their only blessings! subverters of that freedom and independence which the Greeks of old regarded as the test and standard of true happiness!—Amidst all this shamefully avowed corruption, this confederacy, or (shall I call it by its true name?) this traitorous conspiracy against the liberty of Greece, my conduct preserved the reputation of this state unimpeached by the world; while my character (Athenians!) stood equally unimpeached by you. Do you ask me, then, on what merits I claim this honour? Hear my answer. When all the popular leaders through Greece had been taught by your example, and accepted the wages of corruption, from Philip first, and now from Alexander; no favourable moment was found to conquer my integrity; no insinuation of address, no

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magnificence of promises, no hopes, no fears, no favour, nothing could prevail upon me to resign the least part of what I deemed the just rights and interests of my country: nor, when my counsels were demanded, was I ever known, like you and your associates, to lean to that side, where a bribe had been, as it were, cast into the scale. No: my whole conduct was influenced by a spirit of rectitude, a spirit of justice and integrity: and, engaged as I was, in affairs of greater moment than any statesman of my time, I administered them all with a most exact and uncorrupted faith.—These are the merits on which I claim this honour.

As to those public works so much the object of your ridicule, they undoubtedly demand a due share of honour and applause: but I rate them far beneath the great merits of my administration. It is not with stones nor bricks that I have fortified the city. It is not from works like these that I derive my reputation. Would you know my methods of fortifying? Examine, and you will find them, in the arms, the towns, the territories, the harbours I have secured, the navies, the troops, the armies, I have raised. These are the works by which I defended Attica, as far as human foresight could defend it; these are the fortifications I drew round our whole territory, and not the circuit of our harbour, or of our city only. In these acts of policy, in these provisions for a war, I never yielded to Philip. No; it was our generals and our confederate forces who yielded to fortune. Would you

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know the proofs of this? They are plain and evident. Consider: what was the part of a faithful citizen? Of a prudent, an active, and an honest minister? Was he not to secure Eubœa, as our defence against all attacks by sea? Was he not to make Bœotia our barrier on the mid-land side? The cities bordering on Peloponnesus our bulwark, on that quarter? Was he not to attend with due precaution to the importation of corn, that this trade might be protected, through all its progress, up to our own harbour? Was he not to cover those districts which we commanded by seasonable detachments, as the Proconesus, the Chersonesus, and Tenedos? To exert himself in the assembly for this purpose? While with equal zeal he laboured to gain others to our interest and alliance, as Byzantium, Abydos, and Eubœa? Was he not to cut off the best and most important resources of our enemies, and to supply those in which our country was defective?—And all this you gained by my counsels, and my administration. Such counsels and such an administration, as must appear, upon a fair and equitable view, the result of strict integrity; such as left no favourable juncture unimproved, through ignorance or treachery; such as ever had their due effect, as far as the judgment and abilities of one man could prove effectual. But, if some superior being, if the power of fortune, if the misconduct of generals, if the iniquity of you traitors, or if all these together broke in upon us, and at length involved us in one general devastation, how is DEMOSTHENES to be blamed? Had there been a

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single man in each Grecian state, to act the same part which I supported in this city; nay, had but one such man been found in Thessaly, and one in Arcadia, actuated by my principles, not a single Greek, either beyond, or on this side Thermopylæ, could have experienced the misfortunes of this day. All had then been free and independent, in perfect tranquillity, security, and happiness, uncontrouled, in their several communities, by any foreign power, and filled with gratitude to you, and to your state, the authors of these blessings so extensive and so precious. And all this by my means.—To convince you that I have spoken much less than I could justify by facts, that, in this detail, I have studiously guarded against envy, take—read the lists of our confederates, as they were procured by my decrees.

The Lists—The Decrees—are here read.

306 THESE, and such as these, Æschines, are the actions which become a noble-minded honest citizen. Had they succeeded, heavens and earth! to what a pitch of glory must they have raised you, and with justice raised you! yet, unsuccessful as they proved, still they were attended with applause, and prevented the least impeachment of this state, or of her conduct. The whole blame was charged on fortune, which determined the event with such fatal cruelty. Thus, I say, is the faithful citizen to act, not to desert his country, not to hire himself to her enemies, and labour to improve their favourable exigencies, instead of those of his own state;

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not to malign his fellow-citizen, who, with a steady and persevering zeal, recommends and supports such measures as are worthy of his country; not to cherish malice and private animosity against him; not to live in that dishonest and insidious retirement which you have often chosen.——For there is, yes, there is a state of retirement, honest, and advantageous to the public. Such have you, my countrymen, frequently enjoyed in artless integrity. But his retirement is not of this kind. Far from it! he retires, that he may desert the public service when he pleases; (and he too often pleases to desert it.) Thus he lies watching the moment when you grow tired of a constant speaker, or when fortune hath traversed your designs, and involved you in some of those various misfortunes incident to humanity. This is his time. He at once becomes a speaker in the assembly: he rushes, like a sudden gust of wind, from his retreat: his voice is already exercised; his words and periods are prepared; he delivers them with force and volubility, but to no useful purpose, with no effect of any real importance. They serve but to involve some fellow-citizen in distress; and, to his country, they are a disgrace.——But all this preparation (Æschines) all this anxiety of attention, if the genuine dictates of loyal zeal, of true patriot principles, must have produced fruits of real worth and excellence, of general emolument:—Alliances, subsidies, extension of commerce, useful laws for our internal security, effectual defence against our foreign enemies. Such were the services which the late times required; such

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were the services which a man of real worth and excellence had various opportunities of performing. But in all these you never took a part; not the first, not the second, not the third, not the fourth, not the fifth nor sixth, no, not any part whatever; for it would have served your country. Say, what alliance did the state gain by your management? What additional forces? What regard or reverence? What embassy of yours? What instance of your ministerial conduct ever exalted the reputation of your country? What domestic interests, what national affairs, what concerns of foreigners have prospered under your direction? What arms, what arsenals, what fortifications, what forces, what advantages of any kind have we received from you? What generous and public-spirited effects have either rich or poor experienced from your fortune? None.

—But, here he replies, "though I have not performed these services, I have been well disposed, "and ready to perform them."—How? When? Abandoned wretch! who, when the being of his country was at stake, when every speaker, who had ever appeared in the assembly, made some voluntary contribution to the state; when even Aristonicus gave up that money, which he had saved to qualify him for public offices[a], never appeared,

[a] *For public offices.* Such as that of general, trierarch, ambassador, and director of the theatre, which could not be discharged without advancing considerable sums.

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never once contributed the smallest sum: and not from poverty: no, he had just received a bequest of five talents from his kinsman Philon; besides the two talents collected for his services in traversing the law relative to trierarchs.—But I am in danger of being led off from one point to another, so as to forget my subject.—I say then that it was not from poverty that you refused your contribution, but from the fear of opposing their interests, who influenced all your public conduct. On what occasion, then, are you spirited and shining? When you are to speak against your country. Then are we struck with the brilliancy of your eloquence, the power of your memory, the excellence with which you act your part; — the excellence of a true dramatic Theocrines*.

We have heard his encomiums on the great characters of former times: and they are worthy of them. Yet it is by no means just (Athenians!) to take advantage of your predilection to the deceased, and to draw the parallel between them and me who live among you. Who knows not that all men, while they yet live, must endure some share of envy, more or less? But the dead are not hated even by their

* *Theocrines.* A man notorious for calumny. He had composed some pieces for the theatre, but soon exchanged this profession for that of an informer: in which his virulence and malice rendered his name proverbial. We learn from St. Jerome, that the Pagans frequently gave this name to the first Christians. Demosthenes adds an epithet to it, calculated to keep the original profession of his rival in view, to which he is indeed particularly attentive through his whole speech. Tourreil.

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enemies. And, if this be the usual and natural course of things, shall I be tried, shall I be judged by a comparison with my predecessors? No, Æschines, this would be neither just nor equitable. Compare me with yourself, with any, the very best of your party, and our contemporaries. Consider, whether it be nobler and better for the state to make the benefits received from our ancestors, great and exalted as they are, beyond all expression great, a pretence for treating present benefactors with ingratitude and contempt; or to grant a due share of honour and regard to every man, who, at any time, approves his attachment to the public.—And yet, if I may hazard the assertion, the whole tenor of my conduct must appear, upon a fair inquiry, similar to that which the famed characters of old times pursued: and founded on the same principles: while you have as exactly imitated the malicious accusers of these great men. For it is well known, that, in those times, men were found to malign all living excellence, and to lavish their insidious praises on the dead, with the same base artifice which you have practised.—You say, then, that I do not in the least resemble those great characters. And do you resemble them? Or your brother? Do any of the present speakers? I name none among them: I urge but this: let the living, thou man of candour, be compared with the living, and with those of the same department. Thus we judge, in every case, of poets, of dancers, of wrestlers. Philammon doth not depart from the Olympian games uncrowned, because he hath not equal powers with

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Glaucus, or Karistius, or any other wrestler of former times. No: as he approves himself superior to those who enter the lists with him, he receives his crown, and is proclaimed victor. So do you oppose me to the speakers of these times, to yourself, to any, take your most favourite character: still I assert my superiority. At that period when the state was free to choose the measures best approved, when we were all invited to engage in the great contest of patriotism, then did I display the superior excellence of my counsels, then were affairs all conducted by my decrees, my laws, my embassies. While not a man of your party ever appeared, unless to vent his insolence. But when we had once experienced this unmerited reverse of fortune; when this became the place, not for patriot ministers, but for the slaves of power, for those who stood prepared to sell their country for a bribe, for those who could descend to certain[a] prostituted compliments; then, indeed, were you and your associates exalted; then, did you display your magnificence, your state, your splendour, your equipage, while I was depressed, I confess it: yet still superior to you all, in an affectionate attachment to my country.

THERE are two distinguishing qualities (Athenians!) which the virtuous citizen should ever

[a] *To certain*, &c. He alludes to the complimentary addresses sent to Alexander, which he insinuates were procured by Æschines and his party.

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possess. (I speak in general terms, as the least invidious method of doing justice to myself) a zeal for the honour and pre-eminence of the state, in his official conduct; on all occasions, and in all transactions, an affection for his country. This nature can bestow. Abilities and success depend upon another power. And in this affection you find me firm and invariable. Not the solemn demand of my person, not the vengeance of the Amphictyonic council which they denounced against me, not the terror of their threatnings, not the flattery of their promises, no, nor the fury of those accursed wretches, whom they roused like wild beasts against me, could ever tear this affection from my breast. From first to last, I have uniformly pursued the just and virtuous course of conduct; asserter of the honours, of the prerogatives, of the glory of my country; studious to support them, zealous to advance them, my whole being is devoted to this glorious cause. I was never known to march through the city, with a face of joy and exultation, at the success of a foreign power; embracing and announcing the joyful tidings to those who, I supposed, would transmit it to the proper place. I was never known to receive the successes of my own country, with tremblings, with sighings, with eyes bending to the earth, like those impious men, who are the defamers of the state, as if by such conduct they were not defamers of themselves: who look abroad; and, when a foreign potenate hath established his power on the calamities of Greece, applaud the event, and tell us we should take every means to perpetuate his power.

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HEAR me, ye immortal gods! and let not these their desires be ratified in heaven! Infuse a better spirit into these men! Inspire even their minds with pure sentiments!—This is my first prayer.—Or, if their natures are not to be reformed; on them, on them only discharge your vengeance! Pursue them even to destruction! But, to us, display your goodness, in a speedy deliverance from impending evils, and all the blessings of protection and tranquillity[a]!

[a] The event of this contest was such as might be expected from the superior abilities of Demosthenes. His rival was condemned, and involved in the consequences of a groundless and malicious prosecution. Unable to pay the penalty, he was obliged to submit to exile, and determined to take up his residence at Rhodes: where he opened a school of eloquence. Here he read to his hearers these two orations. His was received with approbation, that of Demosthenes with an extravagance of applause. *And how must you have been affected,* said Æschines, with a generous acknowledgment of his rival's merit, *had you heard* HIM DELIVER IT?

It is said, that, as Æschines was retiring from the city, Demosthenes followed him, and obliged him to accept of a large present of money in his distress.

THE END.

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